

Durham E-Theses

Identity and Identification: Femininity on Hadrian's Wall

FLEMING, MATTHEW,KIERAN

How to cite:

FLEMING, MATTHEW,KIERAN (2019) *Identity and Identification: Femininity on Hadrian's Wall*, Durham theses, Durham University. Available at Durham E-Theses Online:
<http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/13119/>

Use policy

The full-text may be used and/or reproduced, and given to third parties in any format or medium, without prior permission or charge, for personal research or study, educational, or not-for-profit purposes provided that:

- a full bibliographic reference is made to the original source
- a [link](#) is made to the metadata record in Durham E-Theses
- the full-text is not changed in any way

The full-text must not be sold in any format or medium without the formal permission of the copyright holders.

Please consult the [full Durham E-Theses policy](#) for further details.

Academic Support Office, Durham University, University Office, Old Elvet, Durham DH1 3HP
e-mail: e-theses.admin@dur.ac.uk Tel: +44 0191 334 6107
<http://etheses.dur.ac.uk>

Identity and Identification: Femininity on Hadrian's Wall

Matthew Kieran Fleming

MA by Research

Department of Archaeology

Durham University

2019

Abstract

The archaeological record has failed to acknowledge the contribution of women in the male dominated spaces of Roman military sites. Recent studies have helped to uncover the most accurate socio-spatial account of the gendered nature of Roman forts in Britain. This thesis focuses on the presence of women in the region of Hadrian's Wall, and in particular, at the forts of Housesteads and Vindolanda while they were occupied by the Roman military (c. AD 122/4-410 and c. AD 85-400 respectively).

Textual, skeletal, and artefactual evidence from both sites provide the basis qualitative and quantitative analyses drawing upon a total of 789 artefacts (150 from Housesteads and 639 from Vindolanda) within the artefact catalogue. This evidence is used to identify the socio-spatial distribution of women at both sites as well as what can be said about the lives of the women present there. By collating different strands of evidence and creating a more holistic approach to the analysis of the presence of women, this thesis supplements the existing archaeological discourse of Housesteads and Vindolanda as well as the wider subject area of gender in Roman military sites.

The findings of this study include, first, the presence of women of different socio-economic status at these two sites within both the extramural settlements and the forts themselves. Second, through the 3rd into the 4th century AD there was an increase in the evidence associated with the presence of women within the forts of Housesteads and Vindolanda. Third, the possibility that the increase in evidence was not necessarily a result of an increase in the presence of women, but rather it reflects the lack of meticulous clear up immediately preceding abandonment of the sites. Fourth, this thesis has highlighted the need for further excavation at Housesteads.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Prof. Anna Leone and Dr. Catherine Draycott for their supervision, advice, and support throughout the production of this Thesis. I also thank Mr. Richard Owen for igniting my passion in Roman history and archaeology. I would also like to thank Ms. Emma Burroughs and my family for their continued support throughout the completion of this Thesis. Furthermore, a special thanks go to my parents Prof. Scott Fleming and Mrs. Beverley Fleming for their unwavering help and support – this Thesis is dedicated to them.

Contents

Abstract		2
Acknowledgements		3
Contents		4
List of Figures		8
List of Graphs		14
List of Tables		16
Declaration		17
Statement of Copyright		17
Chapter 1	Introduction	18
1.1	Background	18
1.2	Site Selection	19
1.3	Absorption of and Progression from P. M. Allison's Work	20
1.4	Research Question	23
1.5	Objectives	23
1.6	Methodology	24
1.8	Thesis Structure	26
Chapter 2	Identifying Women in the Archaeological Record of Roman Frontier Military Sites	28
2.1	Introduction	28
2.2	Identification of Women Through Artefacts	28
2.3	Categorisation of Roman Artefacts	32
2.4	The Data	32
2.4.1	Artefacts	33
2.4.1.1	Artefacts Associated with Activities	33
2.4.1.1.1	<i>Spindle Whorls, Spindles, Distaffs, and Awls</i>	33
2.4.1.1.2	<i>Mirrors and Cosmetic Palettes</i>	34
2.4.1.2	Artefacts Associated with Personal Adornment and Dress	36
2.4.1.2.1	<i>Hairpins</i>	37
2.4.1.2.2	<i>Finger Rings</i>	38
2.4.1.2.3	<i>Bracelets, Bangles, Armlets, and Earrings</i>	39
2.4.1.2.4	<i>Beads and Bead Necklaces</i>	40
2.4.1.2.5	<i>Footwear</i>	41
2.4.2	Textual Evidence	43
2.4.2.1	<i>Funerary Inscriptions</i>	43
2.4.2.2	<i>Writing Tablets</i>	44
2.4.3	Human Skeletal Remains	45
2.5	Summary	46

Chapter 3	Roman Forts and Fort Life on Hadrian's Wall	47
3.1	Introduction	47
3.2	Use of Space in a Roman Fort	48
3.2.1	<i>Fort</i>	49
3.2.2	<i>Extramural Settlement</i>	55
3.3	Notable Historical Events of the First to Early Fifth Centuries AD	57
3.3.1	<i>1st Century AD</i>	58
3.3.2	<i>2nd Century AD</i>	59
3.3.3	<i>3rd Century AD</i>	61
3.3.4	<i>4th and Early 5th Century AD</i>	63
3.4	Summary	64
 Chapter 4	 Housesteads	 66
4.1	Housesteads Background	66
4.1.1	Introduction	66
4.1.2	History of Excavation and Fieldwork	69
4.1.2.1	<i>Fort Excavations and Fieldwork</i>	70
4.1.2.2	<i>Excavations and Fieldwork of the First Extramural Settlement</i>	73
4.1.2.3	<i>Excavations and Fieldwork of the Second Extramural Settlement</i>	75
4.1.2.4	<i>Chapel Hill Excavations and Fieldwork</i>	78
4.1.3	Housesteads Periods and Phases	79
4.1.4	Military occupation of the site	82
4.2	Presence of women at Housesteads	83
4.2.1	First Extramural Settlement	83
4.2.2	Second Extramural Settlement	84
4.2.2.1	<i>Artefacts</i>	84
4.2.2.2	<i>Skeletal Remains</i>	85
4.2.3	The Fort	88
4.2.3.1	<i>Building IX</i>	88
4.2.3.2	<i>Building XII</i>	90
4.2.3.3	<i>Building XIII</i>	92
4.2.3.3.1	<i>Centurion's Quarter</i>	93
4.2.3.3.2	<i>The Contubernia</i>	97
4.2.3.4	<i>Building XIV</i>	104
4.2.3.5	<i>Area HSE</i>	107
4.2.3.6	<i>Building XV</i>	108
4.2.3.7	<i>Area H20</i>	109

4.2.3.8	<i>Area H21</i>	114
4.2.4	Textual Evidence for the Presence of Women	117
4.2.4.1	<i>Tombstone H.145</i>	117
4.2.4.2	<i>Tombstone H.139</i>	120
4.3	Summary	124
Chapter 5	Vindolanda	130
5.1	Vindolanda Background	130
5.1.1	Introduction	130
5.1.2	History of Excavation and Fieldwork	133
5.1.2.1	<i>Fort Excavations and Fieldwork</i>	134
5.1.2.2	<i>Extramural Settlement Excavations and Fieldwork</i>	135
5.1.3	The Periods and Garrisons of the Complex	138
5.2	Presence of Women at Vindolanda	147
5.2.1	First Timber Fort (c. AD 85-105)	147
5.2.1.1	Period II (c. AD 92 – 100)	147
5.2.1.2	Period III (c. AD 100-105)	150
5.2.1.2.1	<i>Tablets</i>	150
5.2.1.2.2	<i>Artefacts</i>	155
5.2.2	Second Timber Fort - Period IV (c. AD 105 – 120)	160
5.2.2.1	Tablets	160
5.2.2.2	<i>Artefacts</i>	163
5.2.3	Third Timber Fort - Period V (c. AD 120 – 130)	165
5.2.4	First Stone Fort (c. AD 130-212)	169
5.2.4.1	Period VI (c. AD 130 – 165)	169
5.2.4.2	Period VIB (c. AD 205-212)	170
5.2.5	Second Stone Fort (c. AD 213-400)	175
5.2.5.1	Period VII (c. AD 213 – 300)	175
5.2.5.1.1	<i>The Extramural Settlement</i>	176
5.2.5.1.2	<i>The Fort</i>	186
5.2.5.1.2.1	<i>Praetorium</i>	186
5.2.5.1.2.2	Granary Area	188
5.2.5.1.2.3	North Eastern Quadrant	190
5.2.5.1.2.4	Western Rampart Area	194
5.2.5.1.2.5	Southern Rampart Area	196
5.2.5.2	Periods VIII & IX (4 th century, stone fort II)	198
5.2.5.2.1	The Extramural Settlement	198
5.2.5.2.2	The Fort	199
5.2.5.2.2.1	Praetorium	199
5.2.5.2.2.2	Granary Area	202
5.2.5.2.2.3	North East Quadrant	205

5.2.5.2.2.4	Western Rampart Area	210
5.2.5.2.2.5	Southern Rampart Area	213
5.2.6	Funerary Evidence for the Presence of Women	215
5.2.6.1	<i>Tombstone V.1</i>	215
5.2.6.2	<i>Tombstone V.3</i>	217
5.2.6.3	<i>Tombstone V.4</i>	219
5.2.6.4	<i>Tombstone V.5</i>	221
5.3	Summary	224
Chapter 6	Conclusion	231
6.1	Introduction	231
6.2	Limitations of the study	232
6.3	Women linked to Tombstones and Tablets	233
6.4	Socio-spatial Distribution of Women	238
6.4.1	<i>Where Women Were Present Summary</i>	239
6.4.2	<i>Dataset Comparison</i>	242
6.4.3	<i>Pattern in the Socio-spatial Distribution of Women</i>	246
6.5	Future research	251
Appendix A	Housesteads Artefact Catalogue	252
Appendix B	Vindolanda Artefact Catalogue	266
List of References		307

List of Figures

Fig. 1.1	The locations of forts on Hadrian's Wall, outpost forts, the Stanegate road, rivers, and the 'Clayton Wall' shown with a thick grey line. The locations of Housesteads and Vindolanda are denoted by a black lined orange and yellow square respectively.	19
Fig. 3.1	Plan of the Vetera I fortress.	50
Fig. 3.2	Conjectural plan of Housesteads Fort.	51
Fig. 3.3	Conjectural plan of Chesters Fort on Hadrian's wall.	52
Fig. 4.1	Map showing the locations of forts on Hadrian's Wall, outpost forts, the Stanegate road, rivers, and the 'Clayton Wall' shown with a thick grey line. The location of Housesteads is denoted by a black lined orange square.	67
Fig. 4.2	Map of the Housesteads fort on Hadrian's Wall with the Knag burn river to east and Chapel Hill to its south.	68
Fig. 4.3	Map of the fort and its buildings with rampart areas in circled numbers, the second extramural settlement immediately to the south, and roadways leading down to the Knag Burn to the east and Vindolanda fort and Chapel Hill to the south.	69
Fig. 4.4	Plan of the north east quadrant of Housesteads fort during the first period with the buildings numbered XIII, XIV, and XV.	72
Fig. 4.5	Diagram of buildings XIII, XIV, XV and areas H20, H21, and HSE of the north-east quadrant of Housesteads fort from the 1974-1981 excavations. The dashed black lines represent the separation of individual sections in areas H20, H21, and HSE and rooms in buildings XIII, XIV, and XV. The dotted black lines signify the predicted structure walls and the solid black lines signify excavated structural remains.	73
Fig. 4.6	Plan of buildings I, II, III, IV and V of the first extramural settlement. Solid black lines indicate excavated remains and dashed indicates hypothesised existence.	74
Fig. 4.7	Plan of the buildings uncovered belonging to the second extramural settlement excavated in 1931-1934.	76
Fig. 4.8	Image of the 2003 resistivity and magnetometry survey completed around the fort of Housesteads.	77
Fig. 4.9	H.119 – Image of a bronze hairpin with a moulded top found unstratified in the second extramural settlement.	85
Fig. 4.10	H.120 - Image of a fragment of a shale palette found unstratified in the second extramural settlement.	85
Fig. 4.11	A plan of building VIII in the second extramural settlement of Housesteads with the location of the female skeletal remains denoted by "1." and the male skeletal remains denoted by "2.".	86
Fig. 4.12	Plan of the Fort's hospital from the 1969 to 1973 excavations with structural phases shown by the overlapping black lines.	89

Fig. 4.13	Plan of the Housesteads <i>praetorium</i> of period I consisting of 13 rooms.	90
Fig. 4.14	Plan of the Housesteads <i>praetorium</i> in period IV consisting of 19 rooms.	91
Fig. 4.15	Sketch of a hairpin with a pine-cone head (H.131) with cross section.	91
Fig. 4.16	Sketch of a hairpin with a domed head and a missing point (H.132) with cross section.	91
Fig. 4.17	Plan of building XIII with the different sections denoted by numbered circles and marked by the dashed black lines. The solid black lines correspond with the building's structural remains.	93
Fig. 4.18	A plan of Building XIII during Period II with the distribution of artefacts found associated with the presence of women. The numbers correspond with the sections of the building and the 'H.' numbers correspond with the catalogue number of the artefact.	94
Fig. 4.19	A plan of Building XIII during Period III with the distribution of artefacts found associated with the presence of women. The numbers correspond with the sections of the building and the 'H.' numbers correspond with the catalogue number of the artefact.	94
Fig. 4.20	A plan of Building XIII during Period IV with the distribution of artefacts found associated with the presence of women. The numbers correspond with the sections of the building and the 'H.' numbers correspond with the catalogue number of the artefact.	95
Fig. 4.21	A plan of Building XIII during Period V with the distribution of artefacts found associated with the presence of women. The numbers correspond with the sections of the building and the 'H.' numbers correspond with the catalogue number of the artefact.	95
Fig. 4.22	Plan of building XIII (barrack block) within Housesteads fort during period I and II (above) and period III and IV (below). The solid black lines signify uncovered structural remains and the hollow area signify predicted structural remains.	100
Fig. 4.23	Two plans to show building XV in periods I, II, III, and IV within the Housesteads fort.	105
Fig. 4.24	Plan of building XIV with each of the sections denoted by number circles and marked by the dashed black lines. The solid black lines correspond with the building's structural remains.	105
Fig. 4.25	Plan of the section of the road between Building XIII to the north and Building XIV to the south excavated in the 1974-81 excavations of the north east quadrant (HSE) and the surrounding buildings and associated section divisions.	107
Fig. 4.26	Plan of Building XV within the fort from the 1961 excavations.	109
Fig. 4.27	Sketch of a round flat jet bead with two pierced holes through the side and a bordered decoration on top.	109
Fig. 4.28	Plan of the northern rampart area of the north east quadrant of Housesteads fort (H20) with each section divided by dashed black lines and denoted by numbers in circles.	110
Fig. 4.29	Plan of the Period II northern rampart area of the north east quadrant (area H20) with the distribution of the artefacts associated with the	

	presence of women. The different sections of the area are denoted by the numbers and dashed lined. The numbers beginning with 'H.' correspond with the artefact catalogue.	
Fig. 4.30	Plan of the Period III northern rampart area of the north east quadrant (area H20) with the distribution of the artefacts associated with the presence of women. The different sections of the area are denoted by the numbers and dashed lined. The numbers beginning with 'H.' correspond with the artefact catalogue.	111
Fig. 4.31	Plan of the Period IV northern rampart area of the north east quadrant (area H20) with the distribution of the artefacts associated with the presence of women. The different sections of the area are denoted by the numbers and dashed lined. The numbers beginning with 'H.' correspond with the artefact catalogue.	112
Fig 4.32	Plan of the eastern rampart area (H.21) of the north east quadrant of the fort with each of the sections denoted by number circles and marked by the dashed black lines. The solid black lines correspond with the Building's structural remains.	112
Fig. 4.33	Drawing of the tombstone commemorating a woman aged 37 (H.145).	115
Fig. 4.34	Image of Regina's tombstone from South Shields fort.	118
Fig. 4.35	A line sketch of the tombstone including multiple male and one female name though to have been members of a burial club (H.139).	120
Fig. 5.1	Map showing the locations of forts on Hadrian's Wall, outpost forts, the Stanegate Road, rivers, and the 'Clayton Wall' shown with a thick grey line. The location of Vindolanda is denoted by a black outlined yellow square.	122
Fig. 5.2	Plan of the 3 rd century AD site of Vindolanda including fort and extramural structures.	131
Fig. 5.3	Satellite image of the surrounding environment of Vindolanda annotated with the mined natural resources, 2000.	132
Fig. 5.4	Plan to show the position of the trenches dug during the excavations of 1973 to 1976 passing through Buildings LXXII, LXXIV, LXXV, LXXVIII, LXXVI immediately west of the western wall of the Vindolanda fort.	133
Fig. 5.5	Plan of the Period VII Bathhouse situated in the northern part of the extramural settlement.	137
Fig. 5.6	The position of the first timber fort (Period I – c. AD 85-92) in red, in relation to the remains of the Period VII, VIII and IX fort and second stone extramural settlement of Vindolanda in black.	138
Fig. 5.7	The position of the first timber fort (Period II and III – c. AD 92-105) in red, in relation to the remains of the Period VII, VIII and IX fort and second stone extramural settlement of Vindolanda in black.	140
Fig. 5.8	The position of the second timber fort (Period IV – c. AD 105-120) in red, in relation to the remains of the Period VII, VIII and IX fort and second stone extramural settlement of Vindolanda in black.	141
		142

Fig. 5.9	All that is known of the position of the third timber fort (Period V – c. AD 120-130) in red, in relation to the remains of the Period VII, VIII and IX fort and second stone extramural settlement of Vindolanda in black.	143
Fig. 5.10	The position of the first stone fort (Period VI and VIA – c. AD 130-205) in red, in relation to the remains of the Period VII, VIII and IX fort and second stone extramural settlement of Vindolanda in black.	144
Fig. 5.11	Plan of the first stone fort during period VIB fort (c. AD 205-212) and roundhouses remains (in grey) in relation to the remains of the Period VII, VIII and IX fort and Bathhouse of the second stone extramural settlement of Vindolanda in black.	145
Fig. 5.12	Plan of the second stone fort and extramural settlement (Period VII, VIII and IX – c. AD213-400) of Vindolanda.	146
Fig. 5.13	Period II fort <i>praetorium</i> and south gateway with its position highlighted above the period I excavation ditch.	148
Fig. 5.14	The <i>praetorium</i> and its rooms and areas (denoted by single letters) of the period II Vindolanda fort with the artefact type, location, and catalogue number plotted. The artefacts are those that are associated with the presence of women.	149
Fig. 5.15	The <i>praetorium</i> and southern gateway of the period III fort of Vindolanda.	151 152
Fig. 5.16	The letter sent to Lepidina from Severa.	153
Fig. 5.17	The birthday invitation sent to Lepidina from Severa.	
Fig. 5.18	The Vindolanda <i>praetorium</i> of period III with the distribution of the artefacts associated with the presence of women found shown. The solid black lines show the excavated building walls and the dashed lines show the unexcavated but estimated location of other building walls.	156
Fig. 5.19	A woman's slipper (V.131) found in the period III <i>praetorium</i> thought to have belonged to Lepidina.	159
Fig. 5.20	The period IV barrack block remains directly above the period III <i>praetorium</i> .	161
Fig. 5.21	The Period IV Barrack Block with filled black lines representing known remains and hollow black lines representing theorised structure of the Barrack Block.	164
Fig. 5.22	The remains of the Period V <i>fabrica</i> of Vindolanda in relation to the underlying period IV barrack block.	166
Fig. 5.23	The period V <i>fabrica</i> at Vindolanda with the artefacts associated with the presence of women shown. The solid black lines show the excavated structure walls and the hollow black lines show the estimated line of the <i>fabrica's</i> walls.	167 171
Fig. 5.24	The Period VIB <i>praetorium</i> of Vindolanda.	
Fig. 5.25	The obverse side of the jet medallion (V.11) depicting a man and woman kissing.	172 172
Fig. 5.26	The reserve side of the jet medallion (V.11) depicting two hand clasping.	
Fig. 5.27	A sardonyx of Tiberius and Livia as Ceres Augusta. Dated to 14-29. In Florence, Museo Archaeologico.	173

Fig. 5.28	The Grand Camée featuring seated Livia and seated Tiberius. In Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.	174
Fig. 5.29	The third century extramural settlement with buildings coloured according to their function with the larger roads denoted by 'A' and the smaller roads by 'B'.	177
Fig. 5.30	The spindle whorl distribution within the Period VII extramural settlement. In black are the excavated sections of the fort and extramural settlement prior to 2010.	179
Fig. 5.31	The bracelet distribution within the Period VII extramural settlement. In black are the excavated sections of the fort and extramural settlement prior to 2010.	180
Fig. 5.32	The hairpin distribution within the Period VII extramural settlement. In black are the excavated sections of the fort and extramural settlement prior to 2010.	181
Fig. 5.33	Distribution of beads associated with the presence of women from the Period VII extramural settlement. In black are the excavated sections of the fort and extramural settlement prior to 2010.	182
Fig. 5.34	The Period VII <i>praetorium</i> of Vindolanda fort with the solid black lines denoting excavated walls and dotted black lines denoting the predicted remains of the whole structure.	187
Fig. 5.35	The eastern Granary and western store building with the surrounding buildings, roads, western gateway, and drainage of the 3 rd century AD Vindolanda fort.	189
Fig. 5.36	The north east quadrant of the Period VII fort with the location of artefacts associated with the presence of women found. The solid black lines denoting the location of excavated structures and hollow black lines denoting the estimated location of the structures remaining walls.	192
Fig. 5.37	The Period VII western rampart area excavated below the forts western gate.	195
Fig. 5.38	The south rampart area of the south western quadrant of the Period VII fort of Vindolanda.	197
Fig. 5.39	Plan of the Periods VIII and IX <i>praetorium</i> of Vindolanda with those artefacts associated with the presence of women with find locations labelled. The solid black lines denoting the location of excavated structures and hollow black lines denoting the estimated location of the structures remaining walls.	200
Fig. 5.40	A plan showing the eastern granary, western store building, surrounding buildings, roads, and drainage system of the 4 th century AD Vindolanda fort.	203
Fig. 5.41	The 4 th century AD north east quadrant of the Vindolanda fort. The solid black lines denoting the location of excavated structures and hollow black lines denoting the estimated location of the structures remaining walls.	207
Fig. 5.42	The Periods VIII and IX western rampart area excavated below the forts western gate.	211

Fig. 5.43	Plan of the Period VIII and IX (4 th century) rampart area of the south west fort quadrant.	214
Fig. 5.44	Drawing of the tombstone V.1 found in 1818 incorporated in the east gate of the Vindolanda Roman fort commemorating Cornelius Victor a <i>singularis consularis</i> and commissioned by his wife.	216
Fig. 5.45	Drawing of a fragment of a tombstone (V.3) found in 1830 at the Vindolanda Roman fort commemorating a daughter.	218
Fig. 5.46	Drawing of the tombstone V.4 found around 1830 from at the Vindolanda Roman fort. The tombstone commemorates a female called Flavia Emerita.	220
Fig. 5.47	Drawing of the tombstone V.5 from Vindolanda Roman fort found in 1830 commemorating a what is thought to be a female.	223

List of Graphs

Graph 4.1	The Number of Artefacts Associated with the Presence of Women Found within the Centurion's and Decurion's Quarters of Barracks Blocks of the Different Periods of South Shields Fort.	97
Graph 4.2	The Number of Artefacts Associated with the Presence of Women Found in Building XIII with their Period of Provenance.	98
Graph 4.3	The Numbers of Artefacts Associated with the Presence of Women Found in the <i>Contubernia</i> of Barracks Blocks of the Different Periods of South Shields Fort.	103
Graph 4.4	The Percentages of Artefacts Associated with the Presence of Women made of Different Materials found in Building XIII.	104
Graph 4.5	The Number of Artefacts Associated with the Presence of Women found in the Northern Rampart Area of the North Eastern Quadrant of Housesteads Fort (H20) through the 5 Periods of Occupation.	111
Graph 4.6	Number of Different Artefact Types Associated with Women Found at Housesteads in the Five Different Occupation Periods.	125
Graph 4.7	Percentages of Artefacts Associated with Women Dated to a Period of Occupation at Housesteads.	125
Graph 4.8	Distribution of Artefacts Associated with Women found in the 5 Periods of Occupation within Housesteads Fort.	126
Graph 5.1	Artefacts of Different Materials from the Period VII Extramural settlement of Vindolanda.	178
Graph 5.2	Artefacts Associated with the Presence of Women Found in the Bath House of Period VII Vindolanda Extramural Settlement.	184
Graph 5.3	Different Types of Materials from which the Artefacts Associated with the Presence of Women Found in the Period VII Extramural Settlement of Vindolanda are made.	185
Graph 5.4	Artefacts Associated with the Presence of Women found in the Period VII <i>Praetorium</i> .	188
Graph 5.5	Artefacts Associated with the Presence of Women within the Fourth Century Praetorium (Periods VIII & IX).	202
Graph 5.6	Artefacts Associated with the Presence of Women found in and around the Granaries of the period VIII and IX of Vindolanda Fort.	204
Graph 5.7	Artefacts Associated with the Presence of Women Found in the Period VIII & IX North East Quadrant.	208
Graph 5.8	Artefacts Associated with the Presence of Women Found in the Period VIII & IX Western Rampart of the South Western Fort Quadrant.	212
Graph 5.9	Artefacts Associated with the Presence of Women Found within the Period VII and VIII & IX Vindolanda Fort.	229
Graph 6.1	Dates of the Six Tombstones Commemorating Women and Tablets Addressed to Women Found at Housesteads and Vindolanda.	235
		243

Graph 6.2	Artefacts Associated with the Personal Adornment and Dress and the Activities Undertaken by Women at Housesteads and Vindolanda.	244
Graph 6.3	Artefacts Associated with the Spinning and Toilet Behaviour of Women Found at Housesteads and Vindolanda.	245
Graph 6.4	Types of Artefacts Associated with the Presence of Women Found at Housesteads.	245
Graph 6.5	Types of Artefacts Associated with the Presence of Women found at Vindolanda.	247
Graph 6.6	Artefacts Associated with the Presence of Women Dating to the 3 rd and 4 th Centuries AD from within the Housesteads and Vindolanda Forts.	248
Graph 6.7	Artefacts Associated with the Presence of Women Dating to the 3 rd and 4 th Century AD from Areas within in Housesteads and Vindolanda Forts.	249
Graph 6.8	Increase in the Presence of Women in Similar Areas of Housesteads and Vindolanda Forts from the 3 rd to the 4 th Century AD.	

List of Tables

Table 4.1	A Table Showing the Periods of Housesteads, Phases of Construction of the First and Second Extramural Settlements, and the Military Garrisons of the Site.	80
Table 5.1	Dates, Sizes, and Garrisons of each of the Fort's Periods of Vindolanda.	139
Table 6.1	Periods of Roman Occupation at Housesteads and Vindolanda.	234

Declaration

This thesis is the result of the author's own work. Material from other sources referred to in the text has been duly credited to the relevant authors. No part of this thesis has been submitted for a previous degree and no part has been previously published.

The length of the text of this thesis is 49,929 words (excluding tables, figure captions, graphs, list of references, and appendices).

Statement of Copyright

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author. No quotation from it should be published without the author's prior written consent and information derived from it should be acknowledged.

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Background

In recent years, research that emphasises the inclusion of women in archaeological discourse has increased. When regarding the male dominated spaces of Roman military sites, the study of gender has been paramount for revealing the most accurate account of the socio-spatial use of the sites (Allison, 2013: 6). The investigation of gender in Roman military fort contexts has recently been proven to be far more fruitful than previously believed (Allison, 2006b: 25).

Through much of the 20th century scholars were reluctant to study gender in Roman archaeology due to their self-entrenchment in the notion that Roman culture and especially Roman military life was implicitly masculine (Allison, 2015: 104-5). Male archaeologists primarily studied the masculinity of Roman society and overlooked women and femininity. The result was the neglect of gender relations more generally, and gendered archaeology was rarely apparent (Wallace-Hadrill, 1996: 112). The under appreciation of women in the archaeological record, especially in Roman archaeology, drew scholars to assume that ‘ancient women ... left behind ... few traces of themselves’ (Milnor, 2005: viii).

Over the last 20 years research focused on the socio-spatial use of Roman military bases has shattered the image of entirely male dominated space (Haynes, 1999: 12). By focussing on the presence of women in the archaeological record the true dynamics and authentic day-to-day lives within the microcosm of a Roman fort and its extramural settlement can be revealed. This study focuses on the presence of women in Roman military sites in the region of Hadrian’s Wall, and in particular, within the forts of Housesteads and Vindolanda (see Fig. 1.1). It will analyse the socio-spatial distribution of women at both sites as well as what can be said about the lives of the women present there.

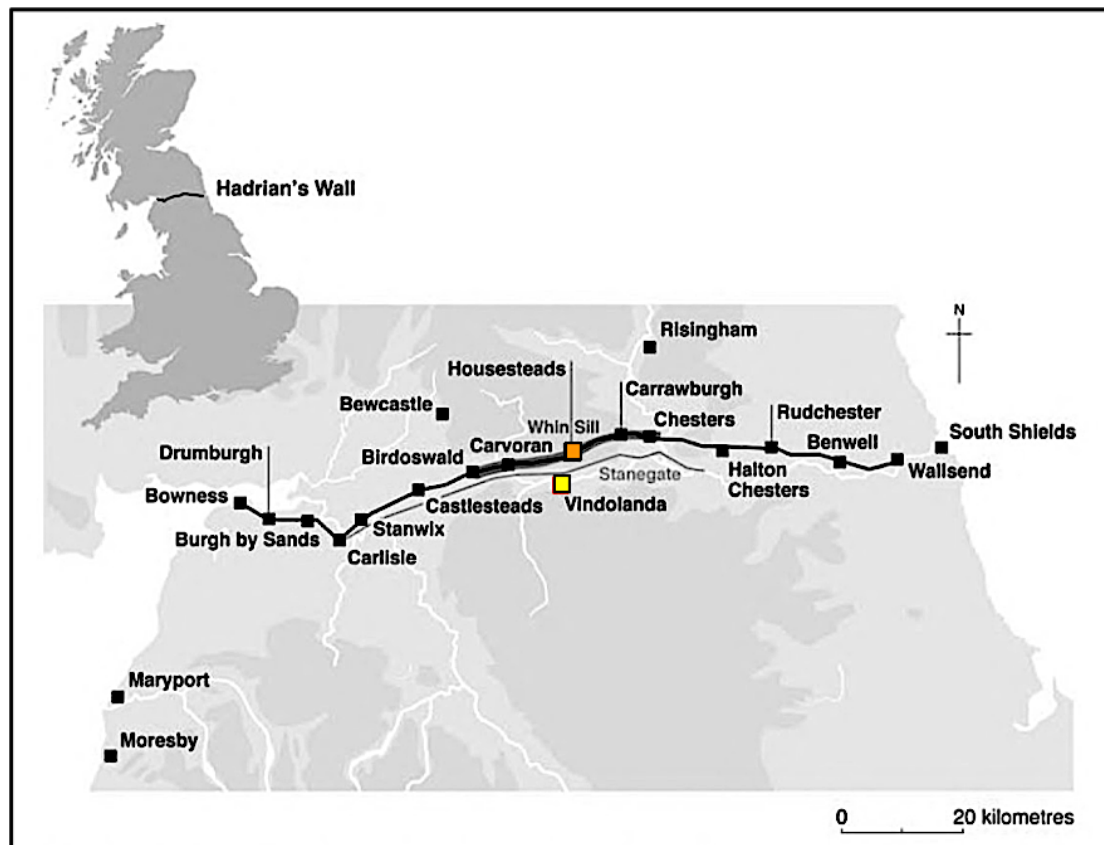


Figure 1.1 The locations of forts on Hadrian's Wall, outpost forts, the Stanegate road, rivers, and the 'Clayton Wall' shown with a thick grey line. The locations of Housesteads and Vindolanda are denoted by a black lined orange and yellow square respectively (adapted from Hingley, 2012: 14)

1.2 Site Selection

The basis of this research was to add to the corpus of discourse about the presence of women at Roman military sites (see Allason-Jones, 2011; 2013; Allison, 2006b; 2007; 2011; 2013; Allison *et. al.*, 2004; Birley, 2010; Elton, 1996; Hodgson, 2014; Mattern, 1999) by investigating the presence of women at Housesteads and Vindolanda. Although, the Latin name for Housesteads is *Vercovium* and the English name for the Latin Vindolanda is Chesterholm, 'Housesteads' and 'Vindolanda' will be used when referring to the two sites as those names are used most often in contemporary scholarly research.

As the Romans' occupancy of Housesteads and Vindolanda differs, the time period being analysed also differs. In the case of Vindolanda it is from roughly AD 85 to AD 400 and for Housesteads roughly AD 122 to AD 410. The period of specific interest (AD 85 to AD 410) includes the highs of economic prosperity and socio-political stability of the five good emperors as well as the empire's decline through increased hostile foreign insurgency and civil wars in the third and fourth centuries AD (Luttwak, 2016: 183; Syvanne, 2015: 232; White, 2015). Events that likely affected the analysis of this study are outlined and discussed in chapter 3.

There are three main reasons for the selection of the sites Housesteads and Vindolanda. First, each has been excavated multiple times with the results being recorded and published. Second, they all provide archaeological evidence suitable for assessing the extent to which it can be used to trace women's lives. Third, the range of archaeological data available is sufficient to draw possible conclusions about the women present at the two sites. That said, Housesteads has not been excavated as fully as Vindolanda (see Chapter 5.2) – the latter having been excavated more often and generating much more data. Hence, whereas the all of the data sources about Housesteads have been incorporated in the analysis of that site, the data about Vindolanda have been drawn more selectively from the material available.

1.3 Absorption of and Progression from P. M. Allison's Work

The work of Penelope M. Allison (1997b; 1997c; 1999; 2001; 2007; 2011; 2013; 2015; Allison *et. al.*, 2004) has been very influential to this study. Much of her work has focused on the early Roman Empire with research on household archaeology, gender and space and its relationship to various types of archaeological evidence: artefacts, painting, and text (Allison, 1997b; 1997c; 1999; 2001; 2007; 2011; 2015; Allison *et. al.*, 2004). Her work has focused on Pompeii, and the Upper and Lower Roman provinces of Germany (Allison, 2013; 2006a; 2006b; 2004; 1997a). It is her work on

the Roman military communities of Upper and Lower Germany during the 1st and 2nd centuries AD (Allison, 2013; 2006b) that are of particular use to this study. The time periods being analysed in the present study (AD 85 to 410) and in Allison's (2013) are partially contemporaneous with approximately 115 years overlapping, making her research particularly applicable.

The approach taken to the analysis of gender was influenced by Allison's (2013) work on the status, roles, and socio-spatial distribution patterns of civilians within the Roman military sites of Vetera I¹, Ellingen², Oberstimm³, Rottweil I and II⁴, and Hesselbach⁵. Hesselbach was used as a control site for the 4 other sites and she used archaeological data to plot the 'movements, activities and impact on fort life' of civilians creating spatial patterns of certain artefacts that are associated with the presence of women (Allison, 2006: 1; 2013: 222). She did this by focusing on the distribution of small artefacts strongly associated with ownership and use by women and children.

Artefacts are the main component of Allison's (2013) data set and, much of her study therefore focuses on the gendering of artefacts and what those artefacts tell the reader about the socio-spatial behaviour and practices of women and children within the sites (Allison, 2013). It is her use of artefacts in socio-spatial distribution analyses and her method of identifying which artefacts can be used to suggest the presence of women, a particularly problematic procedure in itself (see Chapter 2 section 2.2 for a discussion on gendering artefacts), which is utilised in this study. Like most archaeological sites, Housesteads and Vindolanda are, dominated by artefacts, which are listed and discussed in chapter 2 section 2.4.1.

¹ Vetera I is a Roman double legionary fortress (Hanel, 1995).

² Ellingen is Roman fort (Zanier, 1992).

³ Oberstimm is a supply fort (Schönberger, 1978).

⁴ Rottweil I and II were a legionary fortress and cohort fort (Franke, 2003).

⁵ Hesselbach was an auxiliary fort (Baatz, 1973).

Allison (2013: 3) used artefacts related to activities and types of dress worn to create artefact distribution patterns to analyse socio-spatial practice. These were used to discover the roles, statuses, and habitation patterns of men, women and children at the sites; in essence, establishing what social uses there were for the spaces within the military sites. Her findings and methodology can be applied to the research of other sites across the Roman Empire, such as those at Hadrian's Wall and in particular, Housesteads and Vindolanda.

Allison's (2013: 67) methodological approach and conceptual framework utilise identity and activity categories when ascribing gender to artefacts will be utilised in this study. These are: male, possibly male (male?), possibly male or female (male?/female?), female, possibly female (female?), possibly female or children (female?/children?), children, possibly children (children?), and unidentified (Allison, 2013: 67, table 5.2). An example of an unidentified gender identity is an item that could have belonged to animals, such as a melon bead used to decorate a horse's harness (Allison, 2013: 67; Hodgson, 2014: 22). Only the female identity categories will be employed in this study as evidence to suggest the presence of women (see Chapter 2 section 3 for list of identity categories).

As well as categories of identity, Allison further categorised artefacts by activity type. This has enabled her to acknowledge the difficulty of ascribing a gender to certain objects, and without the activity categories, objects to which identity ascription was particularly difficult may have been left useless in such an analysis altogether (see Allison, 2013: 67). Having both categories of activity and identity with which to place artefacts used in her study (Allison, 2013), when a gender identity cannot be ascribed to the object an activity still can be, and vice versa. The activity categories Allison (2013) employs when ascribing gender to artefacts are more numerous than those employed in the present study as she does not only focus on evidence associated with the presence of women. The activity categories used are presented in Chapter 2 in a discussion of which artefacts can be associated with the presence of women (Chapter 2 section 3 and 4.1)

There are three main differences between the present study and Allison's (2013). The first is the demographic groups being analysed - while Allison (2013) discusses artefacts associated with men and women found at the five sites, the present study will only discuss those that can be used to suggest the presence of women. The second is the inclusion of all aspects of the sites of Housesteads and Vindolanda – the presence of women in the extramural settlements and religious centres of the sites was analysed as well as within the fort. With a wider locality of analysis, the patterns in the changing socio-spatial distribution of women within the different site components and their interconnectivity could be explored. The third difference is in the evidence analysed – textual and skeletal evidence are used in conjunction with artefacts to answer the study's research question (see Section 1.4).

1.4 Research Question

The subject of women gender identification and its analysis in the archaeological record in Roman forts' in Britain is underrepresented. Although some work has been carried out (see Allason-Jones, 1995; 2013; Birley, 2010; Hodgson, 2014; Hodgson & Bidwell, 2004; Rushworth, 2009a; 2009b), more can be done. This study will add to the understanding of the function of the forts and the lives of their inhabitants. The research question is: What was the socio-spatial distribution of women at Housesteads and Vindolanda during their Roman military occupation, and what can be concluded about their lives?

1.5 Objectives

In answering the research question of this study, multiple objectives have been completed. They are:

- To examine the ways that artefactual, textual, and skeletal evidence can be associated with the presence of women in the archaeological record of Roman frontier military sites.

- To investigate the relationship between artefacts found at Roman military sites and gender.
- To review scholarly work on the roles of women within Roman military contexts, as well as the function of spaces within a Roman frontier military site.
- To synthesise published information about the archaeological excavation and fieldwork conducted at Housesteads and Vindolanda to create a contextual background into which the archaeological evidence can be placed and analysed.
- To synthesise a body of archaeological data that can be associated with the presence of women at the sites of Housesteads and Vindolanda.
- To interpret the socio-spatial patterns and conduct comparative chronological analyses of the presence of women at Housesteads and Vindolanda.

1.6 Methodology

This study uses relevant sources of archaeological evidence at both Housesteads and Vindolanda to create a balanced view of the presence of women at the sites analysed: textual, skeletal, and artefactual evidence. By collating different strands of evidence and creating a more holistic approach to the analysis of the presence of women, this study will supplement the existing archaeological discourse of Housesteads and Vindolanda as well as the wider subject area of gender in Roman military sites. All data used in this study from Housesteads and Vindolanda will be sourced from site excavation reports and published literature.

To answer the research question and complete the objectives above, it was necessary to examine in what ways the objects were associated with the presence of women. Therefore, in order to utilise the textual, skeletal, and artefactual evidence types, the gendering of the past and the assumptions associated with it need to be

discussed. When gendering the past, although gender is related to sex, they are not the same: in archaeology, sex is biological and binary; and gender is socially constructed differing from one culture to the next (Johnson, 2010: 129; Nelson, 1997: 15; Sørensen, 2000: 45). Particular difficulty arises when gendering artefacts. Therefore, an in-depth discussion into the problems of gendering artefacts, how they can be gendered, and in what ways this study utilising artefacts will be presented in Chapter 2. While gendering textual and sexing skeletal evidence is far more straightforward than gendering artefacts, a discussion of how they can be used to suggest the presence of women at Housesteads and Vindolanda will also be presented in Chapter 2.

The criteria for the selection of data from Housesteads and Vindolanda are: first, that the archaeological evidence must enable the negotiation of identity distinctions (i.e. status and gender) and hence be associated with the presence of women; and second, that the archaeological evidence must belong to the periods of Roman occupation at Housesteads and Vindolanda.

The textual evidence is divided into two categories: funerary inscriptions and writing tablets. Both are used in analysing the presence of women at Housesteads and Vindolanda because they offer a wholly different level of information about the lives of non-service personnel, such as women, to artefacts (see Maxfield, 1995). Funerary inscriptions and writing tablets can provide the concrete information about the individual being commemorated, writing letters, or being written to. Funerary inscriptions often can provide details such as name, age, ethnicity, place of origin, familial information, information of profession etc. Tablets provide 'a unique insight' (van Driel-Murray, 1995: 8) into the life of an individual providing details about the social and professional activities, their current state of health, with whom they were friends, and so on. The use of textual evidence in this study is further discussed in Chapter 2 section 2.4.2.

The skeletal evidence used will provide information, like the textual evidence, about particular women and definitive evidence for their presence. Skeletal remains can

provide information about the health of the individual, the approximate date of death and age of the individual, the geographical origin of the individual, the cause of death etc. The use of the skeletal evidence in this study is further discussed in Chapter 2 section 2.4.3.

The use of artefactual evidence enables a different perspective of the presence of women to be analysed compared to the textual and skeletal evidence. This is because artefacts can be used to illuminate the socio-spatial distribution of women at an entire site because they usually comprise a large portion of the dataset of a Roman military site. While textual and skeletal evidence provides information about the lives those being commemorated or written to (usually small numbers), artefacts can provide information about the lives of women collectively. In analysing the artefacts there is a specific focus on: the object's uses, the materials comprising the object, the decorative features of the objects (if any), and the spatial signature of the object. A discussion of the use of artefacts in this study is presented in further detail in Chapter 2.

Research will examine the spaces at Roman fort sites from a functional viewpoint and a gender perspective to provide context into which the presence of women at Housesteads and Vindolanda, suggested by the textual, skeletal, and artefactual data, can be placed. Furthermore, research into key events during the period of study (AD 85 to 410) will enable an examination of whether a change in the presence of women may have been impacted by the historical events of the period.

1.8 Thesis Structure

This study will be divided up into a further 5 chapters. The next chapter, chapter 2, focuses on the identification of women in the archaeological record of Roman frontier military sites. It develops an account of the methodology employed in this study for using artefacts to suggest the presence of women at Roman military sites. It states which artefacts can be used to suggest the presence of women and why,

and discusses the use of textual evidence and skeletal remains to illuminating the lives of women in Roman frontier sites.

Chapter 3 is focused on providing a contextual background into which the data from Housesteads and Vindolanda can be placed. It will discuss the components of a Roman fort on Hadrian's Wall and how they were used both from a functional and gender viewpoint (i.e. where women were likely present according to the area's function), and the historical events between AD 85 and AD 410 (the time period being analysed in this study) that may have affected the presence of women at Hadrian's Wall, and more specifically, at Housesteads and Vindolanda. It is important to place this study into a wider historical context to understand the occurrence of certain socio-spatial distribution changes at Hadrian's Wall.

Chapter 4 presents the data used to suggest the presence of women at Housesteads. Drawing upon artefactual, skeletal, and epigraphical evidence, the chapter discusses and analyses the evidence to provide a better understanding is currently available of the lives and socio-spatial distribution of women at Housesteads. It is comprised of: a background to the site; a history of the site's archaeological fieldwork and excavation; a presentation and analysis of the data; and a summary of the analysis. Chapter 5 will focus on the presence of women at Vindolanda and will follow much the same structure as Chapter 4 with subtle variations dependant on the difference of site components.

The study will be concluded with Chapter 6 which is focused on answering the research question of this study: what can be said about the socio-spatial distribution and lives of women at Housesteads and Vindolanda during their Roman occupation? It will be answered in three parts. The first will present information about the lives of women from the textual sources of Housesteads and Vindolanda. The second will compare the datasets of Housesteads and Vindolanda, and the third will compare the socio-spatial distribution of women at both sites and provide an analysis of any established patterns. Chapter 6 will then conclude with a discussion of the limitations of the study and ideas for future research.

Chapter 2 Identifying Women in the Archaeological Record of Roman Frontier Military Sites

2.1 Introduction

This chapter is focused on identifying women in the archaeological record through methods that vary according to the type of archaeological evidence being used. There are three types used in this study: artefactual, textual, and skeletal. Artefacts require a different method of analysis to texts and skeletal remains when ascribing gender to them. Particular difficulty ensues when using artefacts as they need to be gendered and the ascription of gender to artefacts is contentious and rarely certain, especially for female gendered artefacts. It is possible, therefore, that some of the gender ascriptions for the artefacts in this study could be disputed. Like Allison (2013: 108), it is hoped this 'will promote debate and inspire more critical approaches to material identity in the Roman military sphere'.

The challenges associated with the gendering of artefacts and their particular relevance to this study are discussed in section 2.2. There then follows a discussion of the identity and activity categories ascribed to artefacts to show the presence of women in frontier military sites (section 2.3). Specific artefact types and their particular relevance to this study will be discussed (section 2.4.1); while the use of textual and skeletal remains to this study will be addressed in further detail to its discussion in Chapter 1, in sections 2.4.2 and 2.4.3. The chapter will conclude with an overall summary (section 2.5).

2.2 Identification of Women Through Artefacts

The issue with using artefacts as indicators of the presence of women is the unequivocal association of artefacts with women. The spatial distribution of artefacts reveals their use and consumption across the site at which they were located (Eckardt, 2005: 143). This can provide the basis for comparative analysis of

the spatial distribution of similar artefacts at other sites. These patterns relay information about where women are suggested to have been present. It is necessary, therefore, to establish a method to associate specific socio-spatial practices with particular artefacts, and hence with women (Allison, 2013: 3; Conkey & Gero, 1997: 415). This will be done through using the work of Roman artefact specialists, comparable material from similar and dissimilar contexts (i.e. burials and military sites), and the large corpus of relevant textual sources (Casella, 2006: 26; Allison, 2013: 66).

When ascribing gender to an artefact, Sørensen (2006: 29) poses an important question: is it the object that genders the user or does the user gender the object? Within a burial context with sexed skeletal remains, the deceased person indicates the link between the object and sex of the user. This is because when there is an object uniquely present in female sexed graves, it is the association to that sex within a sexed grave context that allows for the same object type to be ascribed that gender outside of sexed burial contexts and in, for example, domestic, lived, and unsexed burial contexts (Allison, 2006; Allison, 2015: 107; Johnson, 2010: 135-6; Sørensen, 2006: 28). This needs to be used where within a good sample of 'sexable' skeletons a pattern in artefact distribution can be identified which can then be extrapolated to other contexts. For example, of the burials sexed from skeletal remains from Camulodunum, it is only within female burials that mirrors are found (see Crummy, 1993: 269, see burial 44, 93, 338, 497, 498, 516, 536, 586a, and 586d). Hence, based on the data from the cemeteries of Camaludunum, mirrors found in domestic contexts can be gendered more strongly as female.

To avoid the risk of 'false inclusion', however, the presence of one artefact alone would not be enough to accurately sex a burial; the presence of those artefacts with more reliable gender ascriptions increase the identification's accuracy (Allison, 2013: 10). This is demonstrated in Grave 1 from the Roman fort of *Arbeia* at South Shields, where eight bracelets, 100 glass beads (likely forming a necklace), six finger rings, and a spindle whorl and distaff were used in combination to identify the grave as female (Snape, 1994: 54-56 and 56-61; Wild, 1970: 32).

The present study has used the Roman cemeteries of *Camulodunum* (see Crummy, 1993) to help ascribe a gender to the types of artefacts found at Housesteads and Vindolanda. Although *Camulodunum* is some 300 miles south of Hadrian's Wall, like Allison's (2013) use of the artefact assemblages from Pompeii in domestic contexts in Roman military bases in Germany, its well documented cemetery can still prove useful for ascribing gender to similar objects (see Crummy, 1993). The artefacts gendered through burial contexts at *Camulodunum* are not unconditionally adopted and applied to the different environment of Hadrian's Wall. Instead, the sexed artefacts are queried in conjunction with the consideration that different people in different contexts could have used certain artefacts differently – for example, within military and urban contexts (Allison, 2013: 65). To illustrate, a needle present in a military frontier context has a greater association with males than in an urban city context because soldiers in such environments undertook needlework for repairs (Allason-Jones, 1995: 28; Dixon, 2001: 117-129; Treggiari, 1976: 81-85).

Although objects found in sexed burial contexts can relate a sex to a certain activity, not all gender specific objects were included in burials. Hence, when ascribing a gender to an artefact outside a sexed burial context, the activity with which it is associated must first be gendered (Sørensen, 2006: 29). This can be done by utilising the work of artefact specialists and sources from the Roman world (Casella, 2006: 26). Although sources from the Roman world concerned with women's activities are mainly derived from urban areas rather than frontier regions, an understanding of how such socio-spatial practices were completed in these areas is still valuable for the investigation of socio-spatial practices in military sites at the Empire's peripheries (Allison, 2013: 65). The participation in activities in urban areas could have been dictated by different gender distinctions to those in frontier military sites. Generally, establishing women's participation in specific activities is challenging because, in Roman archaeology, men and women are known to have participated in many of the same activities. Therefore, it is crucial to avoid assumptions about women's roles and functions (Nelson, 1997: 55).

Gendering an activity generates the same difficulties as gendering an artefact. Assumptions of gender stereotypes can be difficult to avoid, however subtle they may be, because generalisations about gender and the links to certain objects need to be considered in detail (Allison, 2013: 6). To combat these difficulties, different societal gender roles and the lived culture need to be identified. Throughout history, the division of gender has been expressed in different ways and is context sensitive (Allison, 2013: 6; Lorber, 1994). In the Roman world, other criteria for social differentiation, besides gender or sex, have proved to be more significant – specifically, they are age, status (whether they were slaves, freed slaves, Roman citizens), and ethnicity (James, 2006: 32; Monseratt, 2000: 162-5; Allison, 2006: 5).

The completion of activities in the Roman world was not a simple binary division of labour based on an individual's biological sex and was based more on nuanced characteristics; the likelihood of recognising a particular activity as practised exclusively by females is low. This in turn requires the recognition that, although an artefact may not be associated exclusively with women, it has the capacity to suggest the presence of woman (Allison, 2015: 109). Hence, the method is that one allows for the presence of women through artefacts rather than excluding them on the basis that artefacts cannot be proven to be 'female' exclusively. Those activities that are used to suggest the presence of women in this study, and the difficulties in using them as indicators are discussed below in sections 2.4.1.1.1 and 2.4.1.1.2.

As well as the use of skeletally sexed burial contexts to ascribe a gender to a type of object, representational imagery is also used. Although primarily to supplement or strengthen the gender ascribed to an object through skeletally sexed burial contexts, artefacts associated with a particular sex in sculpture can be ascribed that gender. For example, the representation of women with spindle whorls (such as that in RIB 1065, Carroll, 2012: 30) strengthens the association between spindle whorls found in domestic and social contexts and their use to suggest the presence of women. The use of this is demonstrated further in sections 2.4.1.1 and 2.4.1.2.

2.3 Categorisation of Roman Artefacts

Like Allison's study (2013: 66), the assignment of activity and identity categories to artefacts is integral to this study. The work of Roman artefact specialists, comparable material from similar and dissimilar contexts, and relevant textual sources are used to ascribe artefact and identity categories (Allison, 2013: 66), and hence, a possible gender, to the artefacts used from Housesteads and Vindolanda in this study (see section 2.4.1 for the application of this).

As with Allison's study (2013: 66), the present study will not include activities of a more complex nature, such as the preparation of food. The activities included are only those that are 'relatively 'safe' (Allison, 2006: 7) for illustrating the presence of women, such as the spinning of cloth because of the stronger association it has with women than men – this is further discussed in section 2.4.1.1.1. The categories of activity and identity ascribed to objects used in this study are very similar, and in some cases identical to those used by Allison (2013: 67). This is because much of her work in Roman military forts in Germany (Allison, 2013) is applicable to other military sites within the Empire, especially Northern Britain. The categories of activity used in this study are 'cloth production', 'cosmetic application', and 'dress' and the categories of identity are 'female', 'female?/male?', and 'female?/child?'. The basis of those activity and identity ascriptions will be discussed in section 2.4.1.

2.4 The Data

The presence of women in this study has been analysed through two different methodological approaches. The first is concerned with the analysis of artefacts to suggest the presence of women, and the second is concerned with the analysis of textual evidence and skeletal remains. This section will be divided into three parts. The first (section 2.4.1) will discuss the different artefacts used in this study to suggest the presence of women at Housesteads and Vindolanda and the reason(s) for it. The second (2.4.2) is a discussion of the textual sources and their use for

establishing information about the lives of women. The third (2.4.3) addresses the usefulness of human remains to this study.

2.4.1 Artefacts

As with Allison's work on Roman military bases in Germany (2013: 3), there are two groups of artefacts. The first group is 'dress' – objects of personal adornment. The second is 'activities' – objects used in the participation and completion of activities, especially those used in activities likely to have been undertaken or performed by women, such as the spinning of cloth and application of cosmetics. The discussion and argumentation for why those 'dress' and 'activities' artefacts can be used to suggest the presence of women is presented in the following sections (sections 2.4.1.1 and 2.4.1.2 respectively).

2.4.1.1 Artefacts Associated with Activities

2.4.1.1.1 *Spindle Whorls, Spindles, Distaffs, and Awls*

The production of cloth in the Roman world consisted of numerous activities that included spinning, weaving, wool weighing, clothing manufacturing, clothes folding, and supervising (Cato. *Agr.* 143.2-3). There is plenty of evidence accounting for the female completion of cloth production in urban domestic contexts (Treggiari, 1976) and rural domestic contexts (Columella, *Rust.* 12 Preface 9 in Allison, 2013). A tablet from Vindolanda shows that the production of cloth took place in frontier military contexts as well (Bowman and Thomas, 1994: no. 192).

Although some scholars have considered the production of cloth to be completed exclusively by women in the classical world (Allison, 2006: 5; Kampen, 1996: 22), there is nothing to suggest that, in the absence of women, men did not complete areas of the production of cloth (Casella, 2006: 26). In fact, Allason-Jones (1995: 28),

Treggiari (1976: 81-85), and Dixon (2001: 117-129) believe the Roman soldiers at frontier sites completed needlework. A more modern example of soldiers completing needlework on post were British soldiers in the Second World War (Allason-Jones, 1995: 28). Hence, certain processes of the production of cloth are not associated with men or women more significantly.

The process of spinning cloth however, is the only area of cloth production that men in Roman urban contexts are not documented as undertaking (Dig. 33.7.12; Treggiari, 1976: 83; Roth, 2007: 106). In fact, throughout the Roman world only women are recorded as completing spinning (Pomeroy, 1995: 199; Roth, 2007: 59; Treggiari, 1976: 82). It was symbolically linked to women of all status groups and in particular, brides (Allison, 2013: 94; Dixon, 2001: 117-118; Kampen, 1981: fig. 56). Hence, Allison (2013: 7) defines spinning as a relatively 'safe' activity to ascribe to the female gender. Furthermore, the ascription of spinning to the female gender is strengthened through female grave contexts and funerary images (see Coulston and Phillips, 1988: 168-9; Carroll, 2012; Roche-Bernard, 1993: 66-7; Wild, 1970: 124, table E; RIB 1065). The representation of women with cloth production tools strengthens the association between spindles, spindle whorls, distaffs, and awls found in domestic and social contexts (Becker, 2006: 36-7) as well as their use to show the probable presence of women. These objects were most commonly made of lead, bone, and ceramic with jet and shale being less common (Wild, 1970: 32-3). Spindles and spindle whorls are found at Housesteads and Vindolanda and hence are used in this study.

2.4.1.1.2 *Mirrors and Cosmetic Palettes*

Toilet activities in the Roman world were concerned the hygiene and beauty; related objects have traditionally been associated with women (Allison, 2013: 97; Eckardt, 2005: 143) – specifically palettes and mirrors (Allison, 2013: 97; Jackson, 2010: 12; 1985: 176; Kampen, 1996: 22). These objects are ascribed the artefact category of 'toilet'.

According to Bartsch, during the Roman Empire 'the mirror has its most common use in feminine self-adornment and self-inspection' (2006: 28). However, based on the writing of *Propertius* in the 1st century AD (see *Propertius*, Cambrina II, 18B, Loeb 1912 in Jackson, 1985: 171), Crummy and Eckardt (2003: 49) believe both men and women in the Roman Empire used cosmetics and by implication cosmetic/toilet instruments (see Crummy and Eckardt, 2003, burial 108). The Roman historian Livy (*Hist. of Rome*, 2.23) highlights the importance of shaving to men, and by implication the probable use of mirrors assuming they were not getting shaved by another person, by describing unkempt men as savages and groomed men as urbane. Mirrors have been found in areas identified as solely masculine – the Turrets of Hadrian's Wall (Allason-Jones, 1988; 1995: 27-8) Hence, Allason-Jones (1988; 1995: 27-8), Stewart (2007: 82-3), and Wyke (1994: 138) acknowledge men were likely using mirrors for shaving.

The association of mirrors with women is strengthened by the burial contexts of Camulodunum cemeteries: mirrors or fragments of were found in burials with skeletons sexed as female but not with skeletons sexed as male (Crummy, 1993: 269, see burial 44, 93, 338, 497, 498, 516, 536, 586a, and 586d). These burial contexts suggest mirrors have a stronger gender association with women than men in the Roman province of Britain. Representational imagery further associates women with the use of mirrors, for example, a Roman tombstone from Chester exhibits a woman reclining on a funeral couch holding a hand mirror in her right hand (see RIB 563).

Although the female gender association to the use of mirrors is stronger than the male, because of the importance placed on grooming across the Roman world, mirrors used in this study have been ascribed the identity category of 'female?/male?'. Therefore, to an undefined category, this means they have a possibility of being 'male' but a probability of being 'female'.

Palettes are associated with women through their use as mixing platforms for cosmetics (Jackson, 2010: 12). Although females have a stronger association with

cosmetics (Jackson, 1985: 176), the application of cosmetics is also associated with men through the observations of *Propertius* (see *Propertius*, Camrina II, 18B, Loeb 1912 in Jackson, 1985: 171; Crummy and Eckardt, 2003). Therefore, the identity category ascribed to palettes is 'female?/male?'. Since mirrors and palettes are ascribed an identity category of 'female?/male?', they will be used in conjunction with others types of evidence, for example, spinning, to bolster the socio-spatial distribution of women at Housesteads and Vindolanda.

2.4.1.2 Artefacts Associated with Personal Adornment and Dress

The importance of dress in the Roman world cannot be understated (Tilley, 2011: 352). Historians have long recognised the importance of clothing when materialising identities in the archaeological record (cf. Goody, 1982; Küchler and Miller, 2005; Weiner and Schneider, 1989). This is because the remains of dress can help to identify the professional and social standings of the owners (cf. Harlow, 2004: 44-69; Kelly, 2008: 50; Parker, 1997: 59).

Within Roman frontier military sites, items of military dress such as buckles, belts, and hinges and plates from cuirasses, can be identified as worn by men with relative ease (Allison, 2013: 68 & 69). However, when differentiating the dress of non-combatant men and non-combatant women, difficulties arise. This is because, dependent on the ethnicity of the male, both men and women are known to have worn the same elements of dress: i.e. jewellery, which will be discussed further in section 2.4.1.2.3 (Allason-Jones, 1995: 25-6). This creates 'alternative gender associations' for certain objects; those linked to jewellery will be acknowledged and discussed in the subsections below. In particular, the items associated with the personal adornment of women and found at Housesteads and Vindolanda were jewellery (i.e. hairpins, finger-rings, arm-rings, bracelets, armlets, bangles, ear-rings, necklaces, beads) and footwear.

2.4.1.2.1 *Hairpins*

Hairpins were used to decorate and pin back the hair of women across the Roman Empire (Riha, 1990: 95). Found across the Roman Empire in burial and almost every lived context, hairpins were made from various materials including 'gold, silver, bronze, ivory, bone, amber, and jet' (Allison, 2013: 77). Being among the most common finds at Roman sites, an alternative function for pins, other than as hairpins, has been suggested as bag and clothes fasteners (Allason-Jones, 1995: 28; Allason-Jones and Miket, 1984: 68; Macgregor, 1976: 13).

When distinguishing a pin as a hairpin specifically, Allison (2013: 77) uses three characteristics in combination: decoration, length, and shape. The work of Allason-Jones and Miket (1984) on the small finds from the Roman fort of South Shields has shown that the variation in pin length of the hundreds found, is roughly 35-115mm. Most of the hairpins analysed were decorated which, according to Allason-Jones and Miket (1984: 68), can help identify it as a hairpin as they would likely have been intended for hair ornamentation as opposed to fastening bags and clothes. It is combination of these two characteristics that has allowed Allason-Jones and Miket (1984) to conclude that those pins that were used as hairpins from South Shields had a length between 35 and 115mm.

The shape of a pin is important for accurate identification because if, for example, the shank was missing a section of swelling which assisted the pinning back of hair, it would be useless as a hairpin (Allason-Jones and Miket, 1984: 275; MacGregor, 1984: 115). The importance of the shape of a pin for its function identification is exhibited in a female burial in Dorchester where beneath the skeleton's head were two glass pins (Roach Smith 1848-1880, III, p.34, pl.XI.3 in Allason-Jones & Miket, 1984: 275). They were thought to be hairpins because of their placement, but because of the absence of swelling on the pin shanks, their identification as perfume bottle stoppers seems more likely as bottle traces were also found (Allason-Jones and Miket, 1984: 275). Where details on the shape, length, and decoration are unavailable in the

Housesteads and Vindolanda publications, identification as a hairpin relies on the excavators' published descriptions.

Although men with long hair could have had need for hairpins, there is 'no evidence [of] male hairstyles [needing] pinning' (Allason-Jones, 1995: 28). Literary sources suggest that men with long hair used alternative ways of arranging and controlling hair. For example, Tacitus (Germ., 38) describes how German warriors, from areas used by Rome to recruit auxiliaries, would knot their hair without a fastener. However, Becker (2006: 36) notes that men may have been associated with hairpins for sentimental reasons – i.e. as memento from a loved one. This association however, pales in comparison to the association women have to hairpins both functionally and decoratively, as well as in burial contexts. For example, of the burials at Camulodunum that are sexed through skeletal remains, it is only within female graves that hairpins are found (see Crummy, 1993, burial 174, 687, 302, and BUCG519). Hence, those pins with the characteristics of hairpins from Housesteads and Vindolanda will be used to suggest the presence of women with the identity category of 'female' and artefact category of 'dress'.

2.4.1.2.2 *Finger Rings*

Both men and women wore finger rings in the Roman world with various uses and associated symbolisms such as for sealing documents, tokens of betrothal, class, and status (Higgins and Higgins, 1980: 183; see Scarisbrick and Henig, 2003). Commonly made of gold, silver, bronze, iron, ivory or amber (Facsády and Verebes, 2009; Kunz, 2012: xix), finger rings are found all across the Roman Empire and come in various shapes and types (see Facsády and Verebes, 2009; Higgins and Higgins, 1980: 183-5; Museum and Spier, 1992: 3-4).

Since men and women are known to have worn finger rings in the Roman world, it is necessary to distinguish which rings were worn by which sex. Furger (1990) has conducted a quantitative analysis of the finger rings found at the Roman sites of

Augst and Kaiseraugst (occupied from the late 1st century to the early 4th century AD) which revealed estimations in the sizes worn most commonly by women (Martin-Kilcher, 1987: 26-7 cited in Allison, 2013: 80). Allison (2013: 80-81) has employed Furger's (1990) finger ring size classification when associating a sex with finger rings found at Ellingen, Vetera I, Oberstimm, Rottweil, and Hassellbach. Based on modern ring data and the finger rings found at Augst and Kaiseraugst, Furger (1990) estimated that the average inner diameter size of a finger ring most commonly worn by women was roughly between 15 and 19mm, by men was roughly between 19 and 24mm, and by children was roughly 13-14.3mm.

All finger rings used in the present study have measurements for their inner diameters or have been identified as belonging to women by the excavators. The average finger ring size for women at Augst and Kaiseraugst can be applied to the contexts of Housesteads and Vindolanda, and hence those with inner diameter size of between 15 and 19mm found at Housesteads and Vindolanda were most likely used by women and will be ascribed an identity category of 'female'. Those rings that are not accompanied with inner diameter measurements have been ascribed an identity category according to the excavator's identification.

2.4.1.2.3 *Bracelets, Bangles, Armlets, and Earrings*

Although the associations of bracelets, bangles, armlets, and earrings used in this study are primarily with women, the male gender associations of such objects must be acknowledged – especially as cultural norms of one area of the empire could possibly explain the presence of artefacts in another. During the period of the Roman Empire, rulers in the East such as Phraates in 3 BC and Yazdgard in AD 457 wore earrings, as did their subjects, regarding it as a sign of rank (Allason-Jones, 1995: 25; Toynbee, 1978). *Isodorus (Orig. XIX.31.10* in Allason-Jones, 1995: 5) recorded that it was fashionable for young male Greeks to wear earrings, and it is possible that young Greek men lived in the vicinity of Hadrian's Wall.

Men originating from the near east and northern Africa (from cultures where men wore jewellery) are recorded at three sites in the region of Hadrian's Wall during the Roman Empire: South Shields occupied by a detachment of Tigris Bargemen during the sites period 6 and 7 (c. 222-350 AD) (Stokes, 1996: 99); Bar Hill and Carvoran, both of which occupied by a detachment of Hamian Archers at some point (Hodgson, 2017). These men are known to have worn earrings, bracelets, and necklaces (Allason-Jones, 1995: 25-6). Although no soldiers of eastern or north African origin are recorded as occupying Housesteads or Vindolanda, it is possible that they could have been present. Merchants and traders from these areas are also known to have been present at Hadrian's Wall; for example, on Regina's tombstone (see RIB 1065) it is recorded her husband, Barates, was from Palmyra (Caroll, 2012: 286), and likely wore jewellery.

With only these three areas of Hadrian's Wall recorded as garrisoning African or near eastern soldiers, the number of potential jewellery-wearing male soldiers is modest in relation to the rest of the Hadrian Wall population (Allason-Jones, 1995: 26). According to Strabo (IV.4.5) bracelets were used as male accessories in Celtic cultures such as that in pre-Roman Britain (Hill, 1995), and can be associated with males in Britain, for example, within a male burial at Catterick where multiple bracelets were found (Cool, 2002: 390-1). Overall, though, their associations with girls and women are much greater. At Camulodunum, of the 181 armlets found, 154 of them were in female burials (Crummy, 1993: 268). Furthermore, all burials containing earrings at Camulodunum are identified as female (Crummy, 1993). Hence, the bracelets, bangles, armlets, and earrings used in this study will be ascribed an identity category of 'female' (Allison, 2013: 82).

2.4.1.2.4 *Beads and Bead Necklaces*

Beads and bead necklaces have been found across the Roman world in various locations including military sites. Beads were made from an array of materials including: glass, bone, jet, shale, gold, silver, bronze, and ivory (Allason-Jones, 1996a;

1995; Higgins and Higgins, 1980: 56; Potter and Johns, 1992: 146). Others made of ceramic, shell, amber, and copper alloy are also used in this study, and all beads will be ascribed an artefact category of 'dress'.

Beads were used in necklaces and bracelets worn predominantly by women and possibly children (Allason-Jones, 1995: 26-27). Cool's (2004: 389) observations of the Brougham cemetery in Roman Britain recorded glass beads only present in female and child graves. This is further illustrated by Crummy (1993) within the cemeteries of *Camulodunum* where 14 of the 15 graves containing beads are female. Through the association of beads within female and child burials, women and children are linked to the presence of beads. Therefore, beads found at Housesteads and Vindolanda can be used when analysing the socio-spatial distributions of the sites.

Children are known to have worn solitary beads as amulets rather than in multiples within bracelets and necklaces (Allason-Jones, 1995: 27; see Allason-Jones, 1996b: 198-9; Rushworth, 2009b: 430-1). Therefore, multiple beads found in the same locality used in this study have a stronger association with women than children. Therefore, like Allison's framework (2013: 82), any beads identified as belonging to necklaces or bracelets will be ascribed the probable identity category of 'female'. All other beads will be ascribed the probable identity category of 'female?/child?' (Allison, 2013: 82).

2.4.1.2.5 Footwear

Most commonly made of leather, footwear would undoubtedly have been used across the Roman Empire. However, the biodegradable nature of footwear has made their presence in the archaeological record minute. Some Roman military sites where footwear dating to the Roman Empire has been found are Saalburg, Vindonissa, Valkenburg, Vindolanda, and Zwammerdam (van Driel-Murray, 1995: 7 & 18). Footwear has been preserved in high numbers at Vindolanda because of the

anaerobic environment in which the stratigraphy of the earlier periods was situated in (Cork et al, 1995: 19; Evers, 2011: 2).

To ascribe gender to an item of footwear (shoe), its dimensions must be analysed. The footwear of children and babies are identified with relative ease compared to men and women because of their small size (see van Driel-Murray, 1995: 9; VRR III: 83). Between adult men and women the difference is less apparent. In order to distinguish between the two, the sexual dimorphism between the two needs to be considered and analysed. With the typical full growth of female feet being achieved between the ages of 11 and 13 and for males between the ages of 15 and 16, the longer growth typically results in a difference of 2 cm between male and female foot sizes (van Driel-Murray, 1995: 4). Using the footwear from the Roman fort of Vindonissa, van Driel-Murray (1995: 9) has posited that the footwear recovered which share the same measurements as the modern European sizes of 27 to 34, belonged to women. The bottom end of the range of foot sizes probably belonging to women is 34 (van Driel-Murray, 1995: 9). This is not to say that there were not women feet smaller than size 27 and larger than size 34, and men with feet smaller than size 34 (van Driel-Murray, 1995: 9). This is taken into consideration when ascribing a gender to an item of footwear used in this study.

As well as the dimensions, the footwear decoration is significant to ascribing gender as it can be linked to the gender of the owner (see Birley, 1977: 125). However, decoration is of secondary importance compared to the size of the shoe. Size would allow one to see if men's shoes were highly decorated rather than making any assumptions. Those shoes reflecting the dimensions associated with women and decorated in a way to suggest female ownership are categorised as 'female'. However, where the only available characteristic to identify a shoe as belonging to a woman is length, that shoe will be ascribed the identity category of 'female?/male?' meaning they possibly indicate the presence of women.

2.4.2 Textual Evidence

The analysis of textual and skeletal evidence differs methodologically to the analysis of artefacts as they constitute different categories of archaeological evidence. The contents of the textual evidence are analysed to provide details about the lives of women which cannot be attained through the analysis of artefacts (see Chapter 1.6 For detail on what aspects of textual content will be analysed). Hence, although they usually have no use in socio-spatial distribution analysis as, in the case of tombstone especially, their find locations are often unknown, they can provide information about women who were certainly present at Housesteads and Vindolanda. For example, the name of individuals, their age, and their geographical place of origin.

The textual evidence used in this study are funerary inscriptions and writing tablets. Their use in identifying the presence of women at Housesteads and Vindolanda as well as what they can inform about the lives of women at the two sites will be discussed in sections 2.4.2.1 and 2.4.2.2 below.

2.4.2.1 Funerary Inscriptions

Funerary inscriptions were an integral part of tombstones and funerary monuments in the Roman world (Carroll, 2006: 13). Both women and men were commemorated. How one was remembered and commemorated was very important in the Roman world and thus commemorative inscriptions are very useful (Carroll, 2006: 20). With inscription openings of '*Dis Manibus*' (to the spirits of the dead) being frequently used, inscriptions provide an 'insight into Roman attitudes towards death' (Carroll, 2006: 3).

Although funerary inscriptions often described the individual being commemorated in an idealised way, and it is almost impossible to tell whether that is from the viewpoint of the deceased or from the commissioner, they can still provide details about the lives of women unattainable from the other types of archaeological data.

For example, they include the age of the individual being commemorated, date of death, ethnicity, social status, profession, who set up the monument, and familial information. As discussed in Chapter 1 section 1.6, it is the content of the inscriptions that is analysed in this study.

Since this study is focused on the presence of women in Housesteads and Vindolanda, funerary inscriptions that commemorate or mention women from these sites will be used. Although the sample is not extensive, with only two tombstones analysed from Housesteads and four from Vindolanda, their use in providing information about the lives of certain women at these sites merits their inclusion.

2.4.2.2 *Writing Tablets*

Vindolanda is celebrated particularly for its writing tablets being named Britain's top archaeological treasure (Vindolanda Trust, n.d.). Those used in this study are thin leaves of wood with the size ranging from 16 to 20cm by 6 to 9cm, the thickness varying from 0.25mm to 3mm with an average of 1-2mm. Made from alder, birch, and oak which grew locally, and similar to papyri, they were inscribed with ink (Bowman, 1983: 18; Bowman, 1994: 16). Hundreds have been uncovered since the first in 1973 by Robin Birley with their preservation owed to their anaerobic conditions of deposition (Birley, 1973; Cork et al, 1995: 19; Evers, 2011: 2).

The writing tablets used in this study are only from Vindolanda because none have been uncovered at Housesteads. Numbering into the hundreds, these tablets consist of letters, reports, and both personal and administrative documents (Bowman, 1994: 16). Where funerary inscriptions provide the basic history of the lives of individuals (e.g., age, name, place of origin), tablets are able to provide more personal and detailed information (Bowman, 1998: 10) including social, domestic, and militaristic spheres previously unknown about the Roman frontier of Britain. They also offer an insight into the process of Romanisation on the British frontier as they provide information about the army's effect on the environment as well as the types of

lifestyles of individuals at Vindolanda (Bowman, 1994: 18). A similar collection of writing tablets has also been found at the Roman fortress of Vindonissa in Switzerland, although not to the same extent as at Vindolanda (Thomas, 2000: 922).

From the total number of tablets uncovered from Vindolanda, it is only the letters of a personal nature addressed to or from women at Vindolanda will be used in this study (Birley & Birley, 1994; Bowman et al., 2010; Bowman & Thomas, 1996). It is the content of the tablets (i.e. what it is about, why it was sent) that provides the basis for the analysis. As shown in chapter 5, the letters can give an indication of the kinds of social lives of the women involved, the activities in which they participated, their relationship to other individuals, as well as the sort of people they knew or with whom they were acquainted. Consequently, the tablets used in this study allow for a level of qualitative analysis the other evidence types cannot.

2.4.3 Human Skeletal Remains

Roman forts often had designated areas for human burials. These designated areas were outside the fort and extramural settlement and were often near or connected to the religious centre of the area (Carroll, 2006: 1). Human burials often occurred outside these designated areas. For example, human remains are found within the Roman fort of Ellingen, and South Shields (Allison, 2013: 245; Bidwell and Speak, 1994: 44-5). Depending on where human remains are found, they can be linked to urban, rural, and military contexts. For example, an individual found within a military fort or within its cemetery is likely to have lived there.

The human remains used in this study come from Housesteads and have been analysed by Birley, Charlton and Hedley (1933). There has been no further work on the skeletal remains since then. Given the limited material available, information such the health, paleodiet, geographic origin, and migration history of an individual from isotopic analysis cannot be provided (Sehrawat and Kaur, 2017: 243). Remains identified by Birley *et. al.* (1933: 88) are probably female and other aspects of the

skeleton can be analysed to provide a further information about the individual. These include the positioning of the skeletal remains, whether grave goods are present, how they are interred (i.e. within a tomb or not) and the location of the remains (whether it be in a cemetery, extramural settlement, or fort). Although the skeletal remains cannot be analysed fully, simple observations can be made offering information at the presence and life of the person concerned.

2.5 Summary

In conclusion, within the different categories of evidence (artefactual, textual, and skeletal) used in the study, the methods for using them to analyse the presence of women differ. The method of ascribing gender to artefacts indicates the presence of women rather than confirm their presence with certainty as it is not possible to be definitive. This is important if one wants to be expansive about life of the frontier rather than reductive and exclusionary. Whereas the analysis of texts and skeletal remains differs from artefacts as they can provide a certainty in the presence of women

This chapter has determined that some artefacts suggest the presence of women at Roman military sites and are explored in Chapters 4 and 5. They are also used in socio-spatial distribution analyses at both Housesteads and Vindolanda which are then used to establish patterns in the spatial distribution of women at both sites.

The next chapter provides context for the data discussed from Housesteads and Vindolanda in Chapters 4 and 5. It addresses the components of a Roman fort on Hadrian's Wall and how they were used both from a functional and gender viewpoint – that is it say, where women were likely present according to the area's function. It also provides an overview of the historical events between AD 85 and AD 410 (the time period of this study) that may have affected the presence of women in the frontier region of Hadrian's Wall during the Roman military occupation of Housesteads and Vindolanda.

Chapter 3 Roman Forts and Fort Life on Hadrian's Wall

3.1 Introduction

Hadrian's Wall consisted of numerous forts on, behind, and in front of its foundations. Not all of them were constructed at the same time, and Carrawburgh, Drumbrugh, Greatchesters, Chesters, and Birsowald were constructed after the Wall's completion (Crow, 2004: 20). Vindolanda was actually built before the Wall in approximately AD 85 and although it was not a part of the Wall itself, it was considered a part of the frontier region when Hadrian's Wall was built (Birley *et. al.*, 2013: 287). Housesteads on the other hand was built at the same time as Hadrian's Wall (Rushworth, 2009: 300). Many forts, including Housesteads and Vindolanda, appear to have been abandoned in the late fourth and early fifth century AD, although this was not a frontier wide occurrence (Collins, 2012: 1). Many forts remained occupied by civilians into the fifth century beyond the end of Rome's rule (Hingley, 2012: 32), for example, Birdoswald and South Shields (Wilmott, 2010).

This chapter will provide context for the next two chapters. It addresses the use of space at Roman fort sites, including forts and extramural settlements (see sections 3.2.1 and 3.2.2), both from a function viewpoint (i.e. what buildings and areas were used for) and a gender viewpoint (i.e. where women were likely present according to the area's function). It also includes an analysis of the historical events likely to have directly affected the presence of women at Housesteads and Vindolanda (see section 3.3). In order to understand the social history of the forts on Hadrian's Wall and consequently sites such as Housesteads and Vindolanda, the wider historical context of the time needs to be considered. This is because events in other areas of the Empire could have affected the military activity of areas such as Hadrian's Wall, primarily the movement of troops, which directly affects the population of military sites: families of those soldiers would follow (see Adams, 2001: 147; Eckardt *et. Al.*, 2014: 541).

Together, the sections of this chapter will contribute to the understanding of the occurrences of certain patterns in the archaeological record through the periods of occupation of Housesteads and Vindolanda.

3.2 Use of Space in a Roman Fort

The Roman fort and its extramural settlement (attached settlement) have been considered as a 'great divide' constituting a barrier through which the activities of males and females were separated (see Salway, 1965; Sommer, 1984; 2006). James (1999: 23; 2001: 80) has critiqued this idea believing instead that women and non-military personnel were in fact present within Roman forts.

Increasing scholarly interest in the socio-spatial distribution and socio-behaviours of women within Roman military in the last two decades indicates that, many areas of the Roman fort and its extramural settlement were in fact used by both military and civilian personnel (Allison, 2013: 20). The soldiers within the fort used the extramural settlement regularly as it usually contained the parade grounds, temples, and bathhouses (Greene, 2013: 29); and the civilians within the extramural settlement were regularly present within the fort (Birley, 2010: 291).

Hence, a Roman fort and extramural settlement cannot be understood as separate entities because each was important for defining the activities completed by the individuals of the other. Moreover, as Bidwell and Hodgson (2009: 30) note, 'buildings outside the fort will not always represent a[n extramural settlement] with civilian inhabitants serving the needs of the military'. What this means is that the fort and extramural settlement are both important when analysing the presence of women at such military sites as Housesteads and Vindolanda.

3.2.1 Fort

Roman forts (and fortresses) of the first and second centuries AD generally took the shape of a rectangle (ratio of 3:2) or a square with rounded edges (Johnson, 1983: 31). The primary difference between forts and fortresses was their size, fortresses being much larger often having the capacity to accommodate at least one legion. The Roman fortress of Vetera is believed to have accommodated two legions (Frere *et. al.*, 1974: 13). Compared to the typically sized legionary fortress of 20 hectares, forts usually ranged from 1 to 2.5 hectares with some being up to 5.5 hectares, usually to accommodate cavalry garrisons – see Fig. 3.1, 3.2, and 3.3 for fortress and fort size comparison example (Johnson, 1983: 31).

Roman forts shared common internal and defensive structures (Breeze, 2002: 7). The internal structures shared by most Roman forts were infantry and/or cavalry barrack blocks, storerooms, workshops, granaries, hospitals, officers' quarters (*praetorium*), and headquarters (*principia*) (Crow, 2004: 29). The defensive structures were usually a rampart made of turf, and a stone or a wooden wall with a surrounding ditch system (Wilson, 1984: 51-61). A standard feature of these forts was four entry point (gates): the main gate was the *porta praetoria*, the rear gate the *porta decumana*, the side gates the *porta principalis sinistra* and *porta principalis dextra*, and a road running around the interior of the wall - the *intervallum* road (Breeze, 2002: 7). The *via principalis* road ran from the *porta principalis sinistra* and *porta principalis dextra* usually in front of the *principia* entrance, and the *via praetorian* and *via decumana* were on the same line and ran from the *porta praetorian* and *porta decumana* intersecting with the *via principalis* in front of the *principia* – see Fig. 3.2 and 3.3 (Clarke, 2000: 461; Erdkamp, 2011: 402; Nash-Williams, 2016; Wood, 2004: 401).

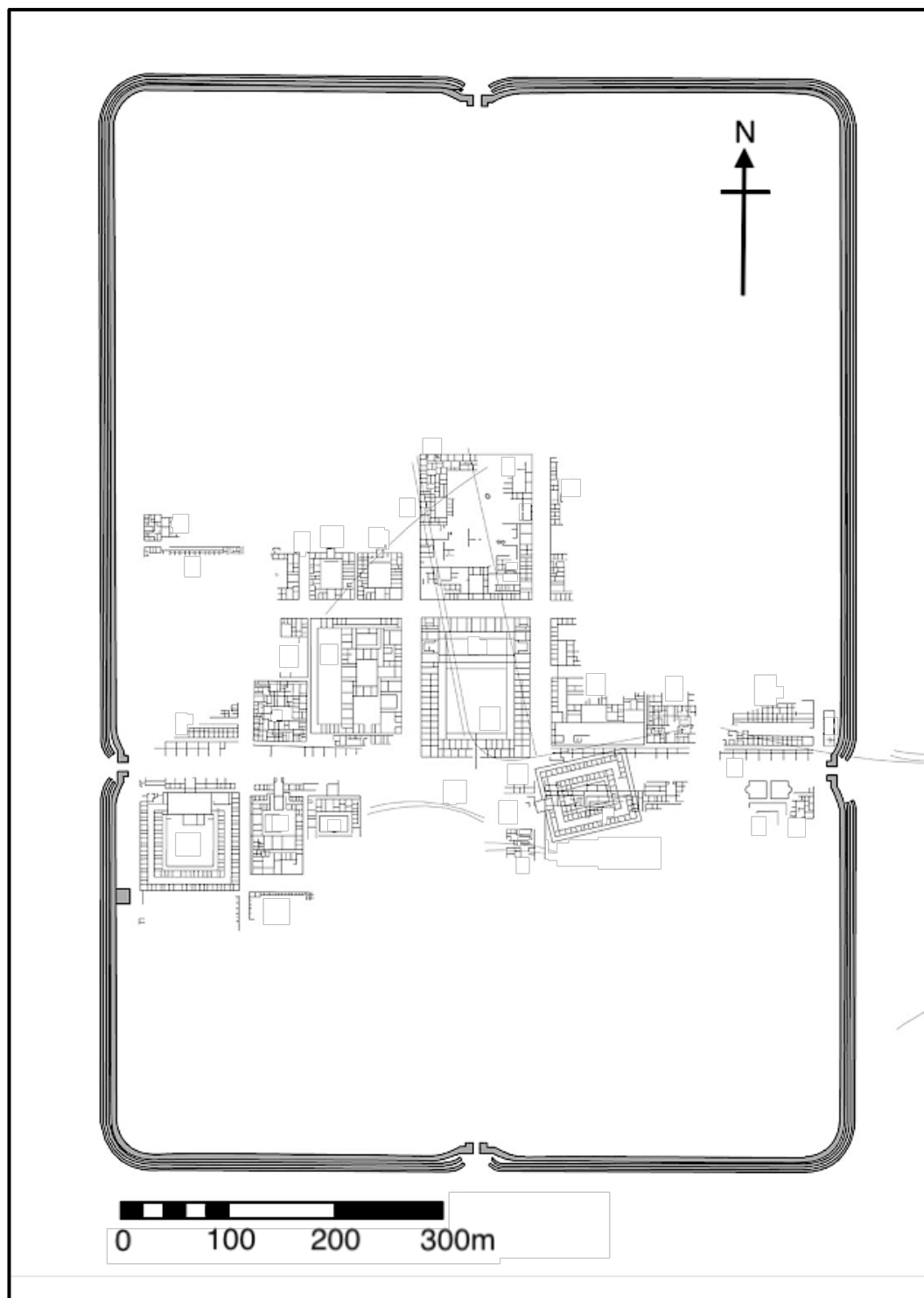


Figure 3.1 Plan of the Vetera I fortress (adapted from Allison, 2013: 111, fig. 6.2).

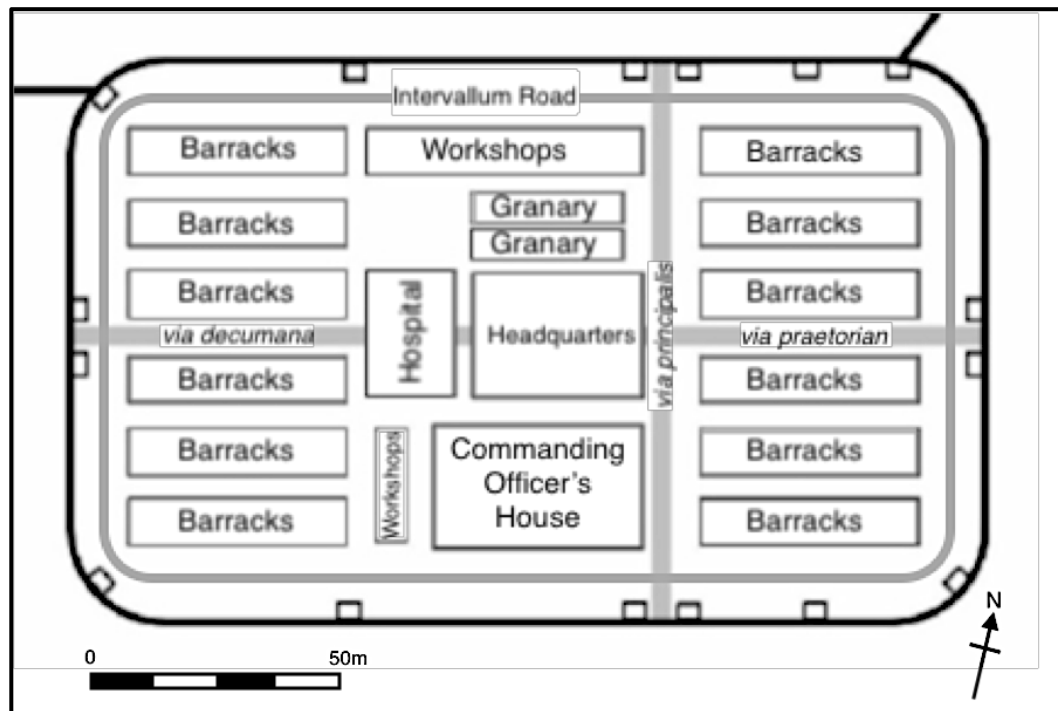


Figure 3.2 Conjectural plan of Housesteads Fort (adapted from Lancaster, 2016).

Roman forts of the first century had consistent uniform features with subtle differences in architecture and layout – see Fig. 3.2 and 3.3 (Johnson, 1983: 31). The primary factor affecting the differing internal layouts of Roman forts were the types of units being accommodated: cavalry, infantry, and auxiliaries (Breeze, 2002; Dixon and Southern, 1997; Hodgson and Bidwell, 2004). This was because cavalry and infantry units required different spatial capacity, for example, in some instances, barracks housed horses as well as their riders and hence required more space per person (see Hodgson and Bidwell, 2004: 133; Petrikovits, 1975: 51-4). In some instances, horses were kept in detached stables rather than in barrack blocks (Dixon and Southern, 1992: 19).

Infantry barracks usually comprised roughly 10 *contubernia*, rooms within which eight to ten men likely lived, and a centurion's quarters (Allison, 2013: 16). The Centurion's quarters (in infantry barracks) or Decurion's quarters (in cavalry barracks) were often situated at an end of a barrack block (Hodgson and Bidwell,

2004: 123) and relatively elaborate with wall decorations and under floor hypocaust heating (Hoffmann, 1995: 118). These infantry barracks usually garrisoned 80 men each, also known as a 'century' in the Roman military (Hodgson and Bidwell, 2004: 122; Roth, 1994: 351).

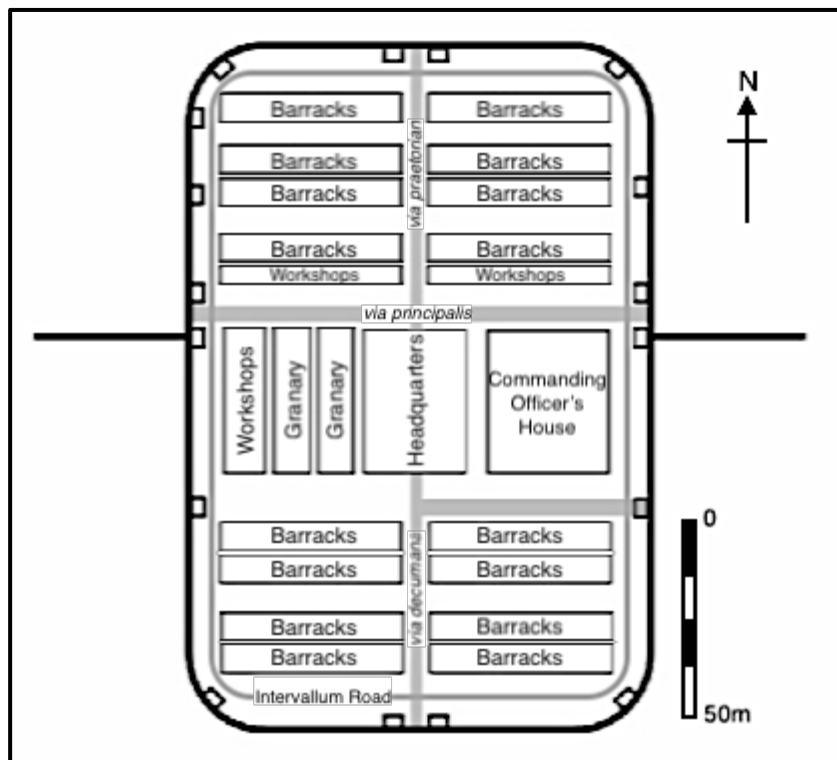


Figure 3.3 Conjectural plan of Chesters Fort on Hadrian's wall (adapted from Lancaster, 2016)

A structural transformation of the barrack blocks has been recorded at multiple sites on Hadrian's Wall occurring in the third and fourth centuries AD (Collins, 2009: 184-5), and *contubernia* of infantry barracks become detached and more irregular in size and shape – for example at Housesteads, Vindolanda, South Shields, and Wallsend (Bidwell, 1991: 10-14; Bidwell and Speak, 1994; Curteis, 1988: 122; Daniels, 1980: 189-91; Hodgson & Bidwell, 2004: 134; Rushworth, 2009a: 19-22). This structural transformation has been suggested to be a result of the cohabitation of soldiers and their families (Hodgson and Bidwell, 2004: 147; Welsby, 1982: 87-90). A focus of recent scholarly debate (Rushworth, 2009a: 298), this transformation from uniform

barrack blocks to detached untidy ones will be explored further in analysis of Housesteads and Vindolanda in the following two chapters.

Situated centrally within forts (see Rottweil *principia* - Allison, 2013: 162), a *principia* was used as the administrative headquarters of the site, as a location to store weapons and the military standards (often in a shrine of the standards – *aedes principiorum*), and as a location for military offices (Bidwell, 2012: 59, 93; Fowler, 2004: 3551; Marcu, 2007: 75; von Petrikovits, 1975: 68-75; Webster, 1998: 193-5, 223-4). The importance of the structure required it to be easily accessible, hence its common placement on the intersection of the roads leading from the four entry points of a fort (for examples see forts of Housesteads, Vindolanda, South Shields, Wallsend, and Corbridge). The *principia's* function provided little reason to suggest a strong female presence, and in fact, a minimal female presence is observed in the *principia* of Rottweil fort and Vindolanda forts (Allison, 2013: 166-167; Birley E., 1934; Birley *et al.*, 1936: 219; Birley, 1970: 106). This however, is in contrast to the *praetorium* of a Roman fort where the presence of women is expected (Bowman, 1994: 57).

The *praetorium* of a Roman fort was the commanding officer's quarters and was usually situated towards the centre often located next to the *principia*; Birdoswald Roman fort is an example (Biggins and Talyor, 1999: 103-4). A *praetorium* usually comprised multiple square rooms surrounding a square courtyard and was one of the largest buildings at a fort (Biggins and Taylor, 1999: 104; Birley *et. al.*, 1999: 9; Crow, 2004: 53 & 91).

The *praetoria* of Roman forts, including those on frontier regions, are commonly acknowledged to have accommodated women as a result of its intended function, housing the commanding officer and his family (Bowman, 1994: 57; see Lepidina's tablets: Tab. Vindol. II. 291, 292, and 294). As part of the commanding Officer's personal household staff, servants and slaves are also recorded at *praetoria* (Hassall, 1999: 35). The presence of women in the *praetorium* of Housesteads, and especially Vindolanda, will be discussed in further detail in the following two chapters: the

wealth of preserved biodegradable material found at the *praetoria* of Vindolanda make it one of the most informative areas for the presence of women within a *praetorium*.

Hospitals (*valetudinaria*) in Roman military sites have been difficult to identify. The previously identified hospital at Corbridge Roman fort has since been identified more accurately as a workshop or storehouse (Bishop and Dore, 1989: 128; Rushworth, 2009a: 277). According to Allason-Jones (1999: 135), the identification of Roman military hospitals can be traced back to the work of Waterman (1970) on the excavations of the Roman legionary base of *Novaesium*. At that site the hospital comprised of one large open room surrounded by multiple smaller rooms identified as wards (Allason-Jones, 1999: 135). This is supported by the description of a military hospital by Julius Caesar (*Gall.* 6.38) where multiple tents were arranged in a square around a large open space. The identification of the hospital at *Novaesium* was further solidified by the presence of multiple medical instruments. Hence, such structures, coupled with the presence of medical instruments, can be identified as hospitals. The hospital of Housesteads in the following chapter complies with these identification criteria.

Storehouses (*horrea*) in Roman forts were used for the storage of many different items such as weapons, military equipment, and food (Rickman, 1971: 1). Granaries are a type of *horrea* and varied in size and number according to the function of the site. The fort of South Shields had up to 13 granaries suggesting it was used as a supply-base (Hodgson, 2001: 26, 32). Furthermore, its proximity to a port with naval trade links to Europe and southern Britain allowing the continual importation of supplies corroborates its possible use as a supply-base (Bidwell and Speak, 1994: 13). In contrast, the site of Ellingen had a *horreum*, but no granaries (Zanier, 1992). Both Housesteads and Vindolanda have granaries.

Owing to the importance of granaries to the garrison, women were thought to have been absent from them in Roman military forts (see Rickman, 1971: 1). However, evidence to argue the contrary has emerged at Vindolanda and South Shields (Birley,

2010: 138; Snape and Bidwell, 2002: 57). It has been posited that this is a result of the change in function of the building (Snape and Bidwell, 2002: 57). This will be discussed in chapter 5.

3.2.2 *Extramural Settlement*

The extramural settlement of a Roman fort is often referred to as a '*vicus*' (Biggins & Taylor, 2004a: 159-178; Boutwoud, 1996: 340-344; Whittaker, 2004: 97). Birley (2010: 4) uses the term 'extramural settlement' instead of '*vicus*' because of the assumptions that can be made about the legal status, roles, and occupation type with the use of '*vicus*'. To avoid such assumptions this study has used the term 'extramural settlement' instead of '*vicus*'.

Extramural settlements of Roman forts usually grew up around a fort developing into communities housing soldiers' families and various other non-combatants often attached to the military, such as traders, servants, concubines, and labourers (Allason-Jones, 2013: 72; Greene, 2013: 17; Speidel, 1985; 1989). Sources, such as military diplomas, show that families and more specifically wives of the soldiers travelled with them (Greene, 2013: 17).

The extramural settlements of frontier forts are known to have developed walls which are thought to have had multiple functions – but primarily for defensive purposes, as a way to physically show its extent, and to symbolise its wealth (Osborn, 2006: 70). An example is from Wallsend (Osborn, 2006: 70). Although not universal at all Roman forts on Hadrian's Wall, there are certain types of areas and buildings that do occur in most extramural settlements: temples and shrines, bathhouses, parade grounds, commercial spaces such as taverns, inns, brothels, and shops, industrial spaces such as workshops, and domestic spaces (Breeze and Dobson, 2000). Many of these have been recorded at the extramural settlements of Housesteads and Vindolanda (see Birley and Charlton, 1932: 222-237; 1934: 185-205; Birley *et. al.*, 1933: 82-96; Birley, 2010: 97-8, fig. 2.17 and 2.18).

Polytheism was the dominant religious ideology of antiquity and consequently in the first to fifth centuries AD (Mitchell and van Nuffelen, 2010: 1). In many extramural settlements of Roman forts there are areas dedicated to worship with multiple temples and or shrines, for instance, Chapel Hill at Housesteads (see Rushworth, 2009a: 312 & 276). Consistent with polytheism, the deities being worshipped often varied from place to place usually dependent on the cultural background of the site's residing population. Hence, it is unsurprising to find temples dedicated to Germanic gods and goddesses, Mars Thincsus and the two Alaisiagae (Donahue, 1941: 9; Galestin, 2007/8: 701; Heath, 2017), at Housesteads where it is known peoples from Germanic regions resided (Crow, 2004: 80). Where material remains permit, the presence of women at temples and shrines will be analysed and discussed in further detail in the following two chapters.

Bathing was an important social event for Romans meriting their presence in 'every type of Roman settlement, from cities, towns, and hamlets to religious sanctuaries and frontier forts' (Fagan, 2002: 1). Bathhouses attached to Roman forts commonly comprised multiple rooms of varying sizes, which often included a changing room, cold room, cold bath, warm room, hot room, hot bath, a latrine, and a furnace, as exemplified in the bathhouse of Chesters Roman fort (see Breeze and Dobson, 2000: fig. 29). Both men and women of different social standings used bathhouses with mixed and segregated bathing a common occurrence (Coleman, 2001: 129; Ward, 1992: 128). Hence, it is almost certain that military and non-military personnel used bathhouses of the frontier forts.

Since no extensive excavation of the bath house of Housesteads has been completed a discussion on the presence of women at Housesteads bathhouses will not be included in chapter 4. The bathhouses of Vindolanda have been extensively excavated and hence the presence of women there will be discussed in further detail and included in chapter 5.

Domestic structures are amongst the most common found in extramural settlements. The extramural settlement of Vindolanda is one of the most thoroughly excavated, and demonstrates this clearly (see Birley, 2010: 97-8, fig. 2.17 and 2.18). The presence of women within such areas is also therefore unsurprising. In some instances, buildings with domestic purposes have been identified as having commercial functions; for example, buildings situated at a roadside have been identified as shops. One example is at the extramural settlement of Housesteads where the 'entire frontage could effectively be removed, allowing passers by the view the wares presumably on display within' (Osborn, 2006: 67).

Taverns are another commercial building of importance to this study. They are present in both the Housesteads and Vindolanda extramural settlements and both males and females are known to have been present within them. Writing tablets found in the Roman fortress of *Vindonissa* in Switzerland record how females worked as barmaids and innkeepers within the fortress in taverns (Speidal, 1996: 55 & 80). The presence of women in the tavern of Housesteads will be analysed and discussed in further detail in the following chapter.

3.3 Notable Historical Events of the First to Early Fifth Centuries AD

Understanding the geo-political climate of the time period under investigation is important for understanding any socio-historical change in the archaeological record. This is because events of one area of the Empire may have been the cause of social and military change elsewhere. Events that likely affected the socio-spatial distribution of women, and hence fort life, at Hadrian's Wall will be outlined and discussed in sub sections 3.4.1 to 3.4.4.

3.3.1 1st Century AD

Although Romans are considered to have been present in Britain prior to the Claudian invasion of AD 43, it is widely considered that the wide spread Roman occupation of Britain started after AD 43 (Breeze & Dobson, 2000: 1; Salway, 2001). Over the next 30 years the Roman military subdued southern Britain and pushed north advancing into southern Scotland (Goodman, 2012: 234). Before the push into Scotland the Stanegate Road was regarded as the northern frontier during Agricola's British campaigns in AD 78-79 (Birley, 1977: 17; Crow, 2004: 26; Dumayne, 1994: 222). Vindolanda, built in AD 85, was one of the 10 original forts of the Stanegate frontier (Hodgson, 2000: 11). After the frontier was moved by Agricola further north into Scotland in AD 84 (Fraser, 2008: 1), the primary purpose of those forts was the protection of the Stanegate traffic (Birley, 1977: 17).

To keep their control in southern Scotland the Roman army established a system of forts and fortlets (forts of a smaller size), which rapidly developed to accommodate supply routes (Hunter, 2016: 184-5). Before the security of this region could be permanently solidified, a quarter of the legion sent to Scotland was sent to the Rhine (Crow, 2004: 12; Hunter, 2016: 185). This resulted in the withdrawal from most of the forts in southern Scotland between c. AD 87 and AD 105 to move further south and led to what Tacitus claims was the 'letting go' of the totally conquered Britain (*Hist.*1.2.). The Stanegate was then used again as a frontier in c AD 105 (Hodgson, 2000: 11).

Although these events only concern the occupation of Vindolanda as Housesteads was not yet constructed, the presence of women at Vindolanda likely fluctuated as a result of the northern frontier shifting from southern Scotland in approximately AD 105 back to the Stanegate Road placing Vindolanda on the northern frontier (Hodgson, 2000: 11). Being a frontier fort after approximately AD 105, Vindolanda likely needed a stronger military garrison which likely increased the number of women at the site (see Adams, 2001: 147; Eckardt *et. Al.*, 2014: 541).

3.3.2 2nd Century AD

The early 2nd century onwards saw the Roman Empire grow to its largest size (under Trajan⁶) with a foreign policy of rapid aggressive expansion, followed by a change in foreign policy (under Hadrian⁷) to focus more on the consolidation of land already part of the Empire (Bunson, 2014: 550). At the time it would have been unthinkable to implement a permanent boundary to the Roman Empire; a permanent boundary separating that outside from that within would have set a limit on the Empire's expansion – therefore limiting its greatness and breaking with hundreds of years of military foreign policy (Birley, 2000: 137; Breeze & Dobson, 2000: 2). Regarding the northern frontier in Britain, Hadrian was more committed to consolidation, and hence the construction of the Wall across the north of England started in AD 122 (Symonds, 2017: 116).

The construction of Hadrian's Wall has been hypothesised to have taken approximately five years by three legions (Crow, 2004: 18-19). Indeed, three legions are recorded in its construction: the XX Valeria Victrix, legio VI Victrix, and II Augusta (Dando-Collins, 2012), but the precise date of completion is unknown. The latter two legions are known to have been present at Housesteads, attested by their dedication of three altars (H.136, H.140, and H.141), likely during its construction.

Hadrian's Wall was the only frontier made entirely of a stone or turf wall in the 2nd century, its 46 Roman miles⁸ eastern section made with stone and the 31 Roman mile western section made of turf (Johnson, 1989: 30). A wooden palisade made up part of the German frontier, but the monumentality of Hadrian's Wall was unmatched (Breeze, 2006). Other frontiers remained as a line of forts in geologically and geographically strategic positions constituting a boundary, for example, the Pontic-Cappadocian frontier (Bennett, 2006: 77-93). Like these, Hadrian's Wall

⁶ The reign of Trajan was from AD 98 – 117 (Bennett, 2003: ix-xi).

⁷ The reign of Hadrian was from AD 117-138 (Boatwright, 2000: 3).

⁸ A Roman mile is roughly 110 metres shorter than a UK mile.

exploited the narrowest point across North England and utilised natural defensive features, such as crags (Pickett et al., 2006).

Soon after the completion of Hadrian's Wall, the Antonine Wall was constructed further north in southern Scotland in AD 142 (Breeze, 2012: 1). It was completed during the reign of Antoninus Pius following a push from the Roman military further into Pict territory (Breeze, 2006: 1). It is probable that another wall was created so that Antoninus Pius could prove himself a competent and worthy military leader (Hunter, 2016: 185).

Like Hadrian's Wall, the Antonine Wall represented a commitment to the preservation of the most northern part of the Empire along with an acknowledgement of the failure to conquer the entirety of Britain (Crow, 2003). The establishment of the Antonine Wall would have affected the occupation of Hadrian's Wall, as many of its garrisoned soldiers would have been moved to the newly built wall. This would have in turn affected the civilian presence at Hadrian's Wall and hence made the period of occupation at the Antonine Wall important when discussing the presence of women throughout the occupation of Hadrian's Wall.

The Antonine Wall was abandoned in c. AD 165 (Dumayne-Peaty, 1998: 208). The troops garrisoned then reoccupied Hadrian's Wall – inscriptions indicating repairs to Hadrian's Wall supports this (Johnson, 1989: 74). Upon reoccupation of the Wall, reconstruction of knocked down sites were undertaken, and construction of incomplete sites was resumed (Ibid, 1989: 75). During the occupation of the Antonine Wall archaeological evidence for civilian presence at Hadrian's Wall was scarcer. This will be explored in the case studies of Chapters 4 and 5.

A key turning point in the presence of women at the forts of Hadrian's Wall was the reign of Septimus Severus⁹. Not only did his reign bring a re-organization of the Northern frontier (Roach, 2013: 107), it also enabled the marriage of serving soldiers

⁹ The reign of Septimus Severus lasted from AD 193 to 211 (Potter, 2004: 764).

according to the Severan Edict of AD 197 (Allason-Jones, 2013: 71; 1989: 59; Herodian, 3.8.4-5; Phang, 2001). This edict is important to the study of female presence within forts on Hadrian's Wall as it could have resulted in the cohabitation of soldiers and families. The analysis of this within the next two chapters may reveal whether not there were de facto wives present in cohabited areas and that the edict simply legalised what was already occurring.

3.3.3 3rd Century AD

During the 3rd century the threat level on the Roman Empire's other frontiers increased (Rushworth, 2009: 298). War on the Rhine, Danube and Euphrates frontiers had become continual by the middle of the 3rd century AD quite often against forces larger than the frontiers were designed to handle (Williams, 1996: 16-17; von Petrikovits, 1971: 178). This was particularly the case on the Rhine frontier where there had previously been multiple small tribes, they were now forming together to create great tribal confederations (Williams, 1996: 16). On the Danube frontier large amounts of Ostrogoths, Visigoths, and Heruli (all Gothic peoples) were migrating from Scandinavia and struggling for territory with the Sarmatians from the Caucasus causing tension and hostility on the Roman frontier (Williams, 1996: 15). These external threats to territory did not occur to the same extent in Britain, in fact the frontier of Hadrian's Wall remained relatively peaceful in comparison (Crow, 2004: 89). Although Britain was not directly affected by such military threats, the province was indirectly affected by the need for soldier relocation to those areas of the Empire under threat.

Internal threats to the Empire's stability were rife between AD 235 and AD 284 (Cleary, 1990: 1). During this period over 20 individuals were recognised as Emperors/usurpers with none living long enough to implement a dynasty or introduce any political, financial, and military policies to positive effect (Cleary, 1990: 1). The various usurpers used military means to acquire power, which diminished the need for soldiers to defend the frontiers. Hence, the internal turmoil of the Empire

enabled the occurrence of foreign military incursions by its effect on the efficiency of territorial defence (Williams, 1996: 18). This would have caused further turmoil requiring even more soldiers from areas of relative peace, such as Hadrian's Wall, to be relocated to those areas of hostility and unrest.

From AD 286 to AD 296 two separatist regimes emerged in Britain threatening the stability of the Empire and causing conflict between the then Roman Emperor Diocletian (Todd, 2008: 398). These were the regimes of Carausius and Allectus, and the defence and fortification of the southern coast of Britain was increased to combat the ever-looming threat of war with Diocletian (Casey, 1994: 1). This likely required the movement of troops from northern Britain and in particular Hadrian's Wall to southern Britain reducing the garrison strengths of numerous forts (Rushworth, 2009: 298). The forts of Haltonchesters and Rudchester on Hadrian's Wall exhibit this reduction of garrison strength roughly coinciding with this period (Curteis, 1988: 120; Gillam, 1961). A reduction in the garrison strength of Housesteads can also be seen to coincide through the partial abandonment of the second extramural settlement.

Although the majority of the 3rd century AD saw the extramural settlement of the forts on Hadrian's Wall reach their peak in size, toward the end of the century their occupation seems to go into decline and this continued until the eventual abandonment of the Wall in the early 5th century AD (Hingley, 2012: 31). Perhaps this was a result of the stabilisation of the frontier region under the reign of Constantine from AD 306 to AD 337 immediately after Diocletian (Lenski, 2012: 169). The decline in extramural settlement occupation was accompanied by architectural change in many forts on Hadrian's Wall (Rushworth, 2009), Housesteads and Vindolanda being just two. This potential transformation in the use of space of these sites as a result of troop relocation will also be discussed in further detail in chapters 4 and 5.

3.3.4 4th and Early 5th Century AD

The decline of Roman Britain occurred in the second half of the 4th century AD and the start of the 5th (Hingley, 2010: 1194). Five events occurred concerning the Roman military in Britain and consequently on Hadrian's Wall influencing the Empire's occupation of the region and therefore the civilian presence at military sites. The first event occurred in AD 364 with 11 years of raids from the Picts, Irish, and Saxons (Faulkner, 2000: 184). These raids directly affected the soldiers garrisoned at Hadrian's Wall through being moved to those areas being raided. The second, during the same period, was the many different peoples from mainland Europe (e.g., the Franks, Frisians, Jutes, and Angles) who came together in a 'barbarian conspiracy' to raid and plunder the coasts of Roman Britain (Faulkner, 2000: 184).

The third event occurred in AD 383, was the ascension of a senior Roman officer in Britain, Magnus Maximus, to the throne after the defeat of Emperor Valen's eastern field-army in the lower Danube (Faulkner, 2000: 168). When Magnus Maximus took power, he led an army from Britain to quell revolting in Gaul as a result of Emperor Valen's defeat (Ibid, 2000: 168). This redeployment of Roman troops from Britain into mainland Europe weakened the security of the frontier and lessened the deterrent to potential invaders. Consequently, this could have affected the female presence on the Hadrian's Wall as, like all the other movements of soldiers throughout the Empire and past centuries, their families more than likely followed them (see Adams, 2001: 147; Eckardt *et. Al.*, 2014: 541).

The fourth event causing most soldiers to permanently leave Britain came in AD 407 when the Gothic leader Alaric invaded Italy. The Emperor of the West at the time was Honorius (AD 395-423) with Stilicho (a high-ranking officer) managing the Empire's defensive strategy. Upon hearing of the impending invasion, Stilicho, moved troops from Britain to aid Italy's defence (Faulkner, 2000: 171).

Archaeological evidence of this permanent movement comes from numismatics – there are no coins from the reigns of Arcadius (Emperor of the Eastern Empire from

AD 395-408) and Honorius in significant quantity found in Britain (Faulkner, 2000: 171-2). This indicates no payments to soldiers were being sent to Britain, which in turn signifies the absence of large garrisons of soldiers stationed in Britain after AD 402 (Faulkner, 2000: 172). As time passed the abandoned soldiers were neglected and ignored.

The final event occurred five years later in Britain when Constantine III was voted by Roman army officers in Britain as Emperor under a newly established government. Constantine III took what was left of the able-bodied soldiers and invaded Gaul hoping to take lands back from Barbarian invaders from Germania. Failing to do so, Britain was ultimately left void of Roman military presence (Faulkner, 2000: 172). The inability to defend the western Roman Empire came from the lack of funds produced by the western part of the Empire, and the increasing amount of conflict.

Throughout the events in the fourth and fifth century listed above, soldiers positioned on Hadrian's Wall would have been redeployed to address the various threats. One can assume that many of the soldiers' families would have left and followed the soldiers on campaigns and placements throughout these centuries (see Adams, 2001: 147; Eckardt *et. Al.*, 2014: 541). This would have affected the presence of women within the forts on Hadrian's Wall during the Roman military occupation.

3.4 Summary

Macmullen (1984) and Phang (2005) have described the environments and peoples of Roman military sites as parts of a Roman society. This chapter has illuminated the physical environment the social situation and community at a fort and its associated extramural settlement, as well as the wider political and military historical background in which it existed (section 3.4). Consequently, the discussions of this chapter have provided a contextual background to the uses of space within a typical Roman fort on a frontier region (section 3.3, 3.3.1, and 3.3.2). This is important as

providing a social reconstruction is vitally important for understanding how, and why certain things happened (Shanks and Tilley, 1992: xviii & 1-2).

The following chapter will be a presentation of the data used to suggest the presence of women at Housesteads. The types of data used in the following chapter are artefactual, skeletal, and epigraphical. The evidence for each evidence type will be analysed and discussed to provide a better understanding, than what is already known, of the lives and socio-spatial distribution of women at the site.

Chapter 4 Housesteads

4.1 Housesteads Background

4.1.1 Introduction

The Roman fort of Housesteads was built in AD 122 and abandoned by the Roman military around AD 410 (Allason-Jones, 2013: 71; Breeze and Dobson, 2000; Rushworth, 2009a: 300). It is situated on the section of Hadrian's Wall passing through Northumberland between the forts of Carrawburgh to the east and Great Chesters to the west, with Vindolanda located approximately four miles to the south (Beaumont, 2008: 59; Dungworth, 2001). It is on a section of the Wall that underwent heavy reconstruction during the 19th century often referred to as the 'Clayton Wall' (Hingley, 2012: xv; see Fig. 4.1) which likely disrupted the archaeological record in that region.

Evidence of the Roman name of the Housesteads site, *Borcovicus*, comes from the *Notitia Dignitatum*¹⁰. It was also known as *Vercovicium*, taken from the epithet 'VER' on an altar dedicated by Frisians in a temple of *Mars Thincsus* found at the site (Crow, 1995: 56). For the purpose of this study, however, as indicated in Chapter 1, the site will be referred to by its English name, Housesteads.

Throughout the occupation of Housesteads, there are believed to have been two extramural settlements. The first, located south of the *vallum* and north of the foot of Chapel Hill (see Fig. 4.2), is thought to have stretched east to the Knag Burn and 100 yards to the west (Birley, 1962a: 119), but there have been few excavations in that area and information is limited. The second, and later extramural settlement is located immediately south and west of the fort (see Fig. 4.3). Unexcavated agricultural field systems were identified to the west (Biggins and Taylor, 2004b: 51).

¹⁰ The *Notitia Dignitatum* was an 'illustrated list which itemises the administrative hierarchy, both civil and military, of the late Roman empire' (Kulikowski, 2000: 358).

Surrounded on three sides by a ditch to the east and west, and the *vallum* to the south, the area is roughly twice that of the fort. The extramural settlements of Castlesteads and Birdoswald forts are also approximated to be twice the size of the forts themselves (Biggins and Taylor, 2004b: 52-60).

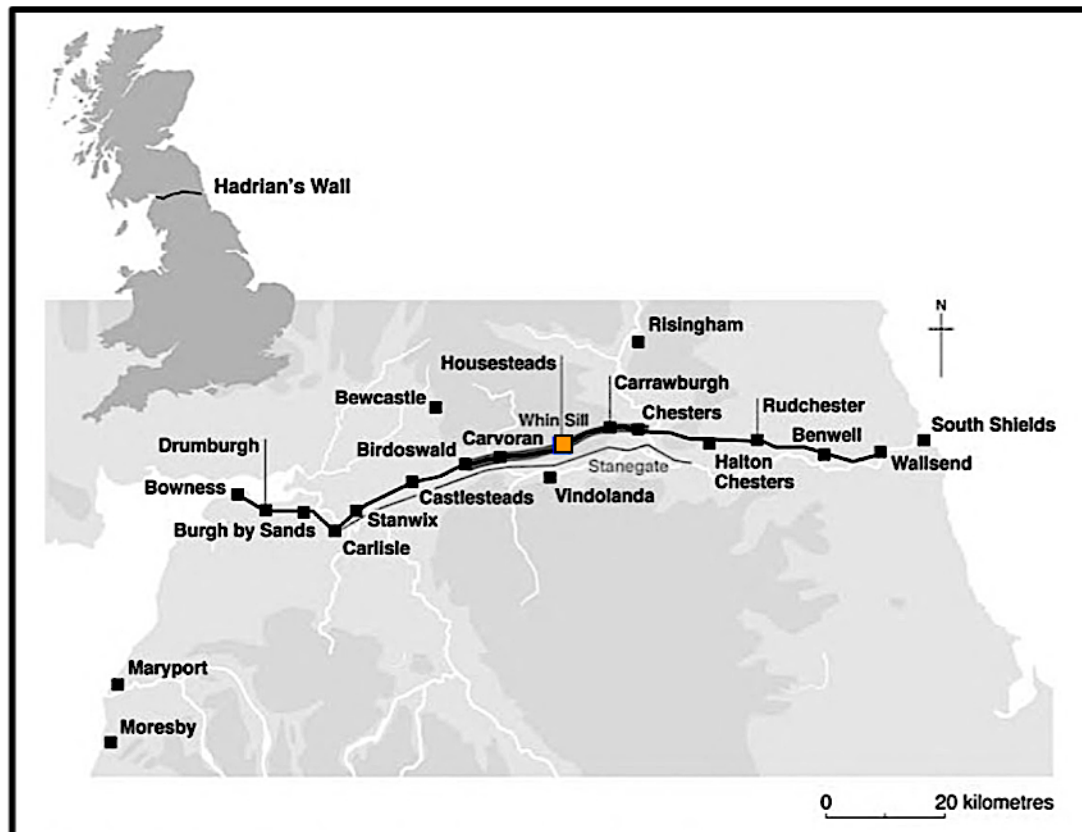


Figure 4.1 Map showing the locations of forts on Hadrian's Wall, outpost forts, the Stanegate road, rivers, and the 'Clayton Wall' shown with a thick grey line. The location of Housesteads is denoted by a black lined orange square (adapted from Hingley, 2012: 14).

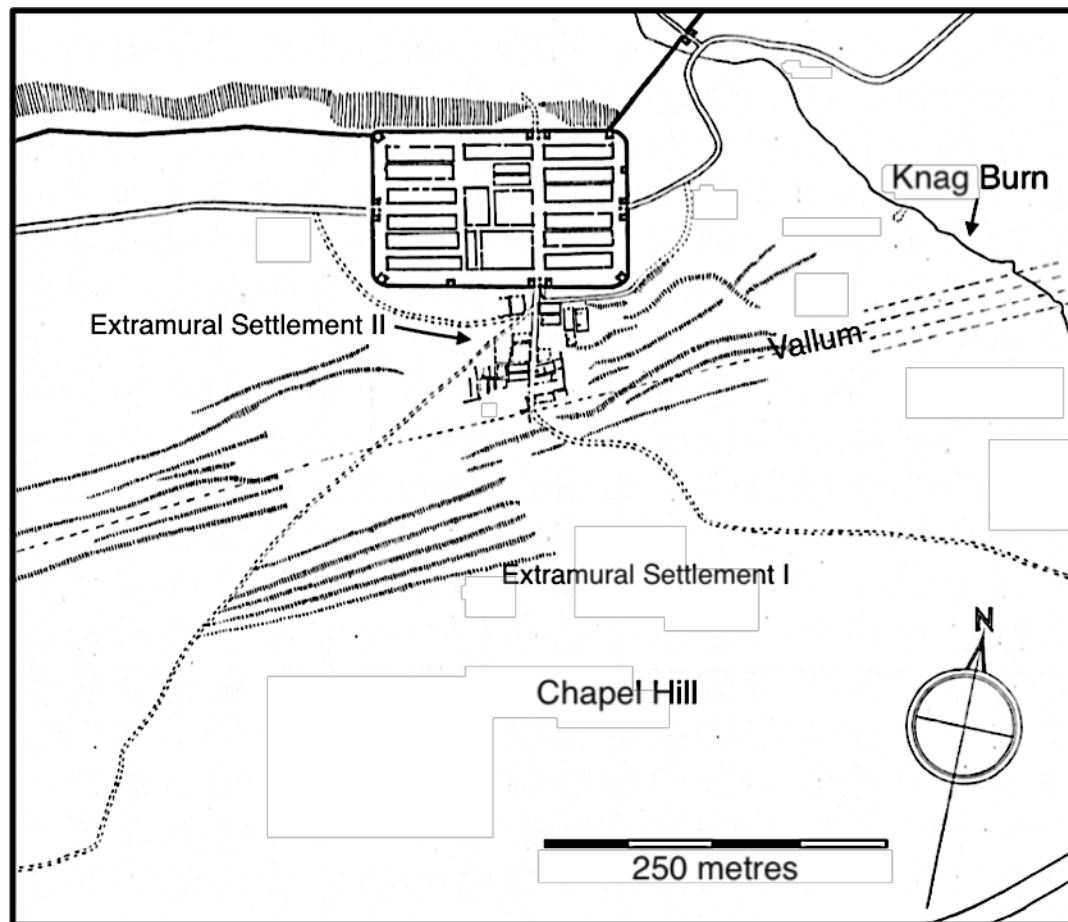


Figure 4.2 Map of the Housesteads fort on Hadrian's Wall with the Knag burn river to east and Chapel Hill to its south (after Birley and Keeney, 1935: plate XXIII).

This chapter will consist of an overview of the different excavations of the site (section 4.1.2), an overview of the military occupation as well as the different time periods of the site (4.1.3 and 4.1.4), the presentation and analysis of data indicating the presence of women at the site (4.2), and a summary of what can be inferred for each period of occupation from the data (section 4.3).

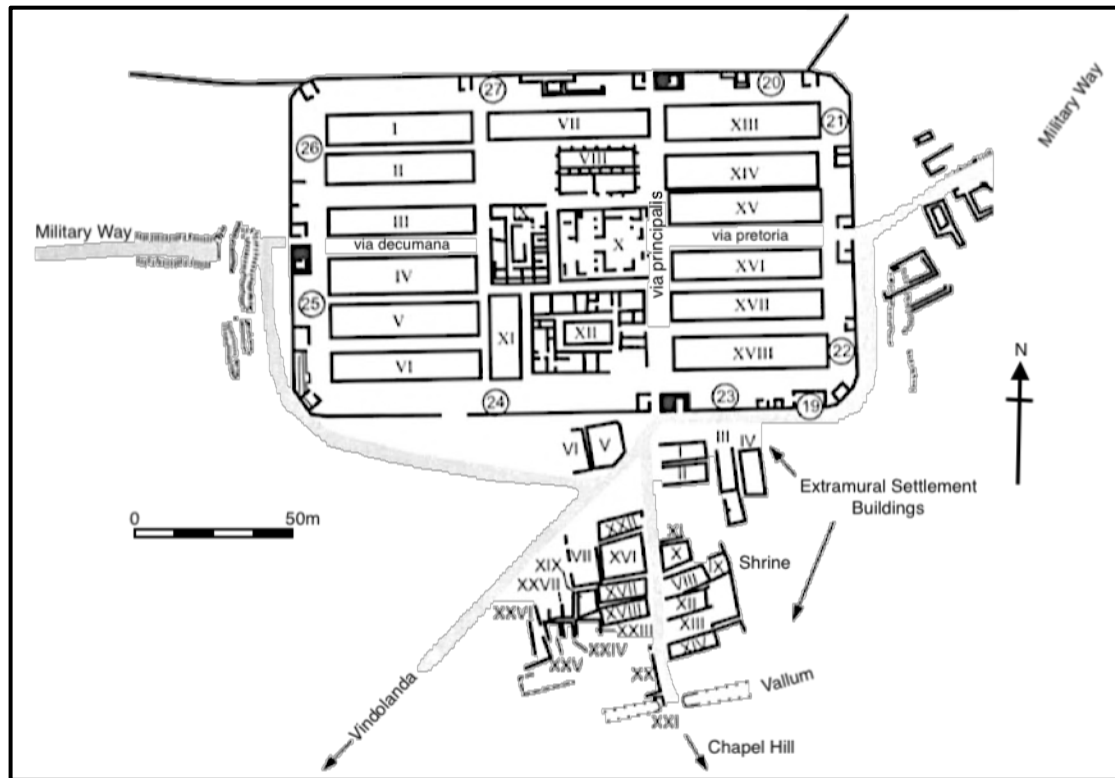


Figure 4.3 Map of the fort and its buildings with rampart areas in circled numbers, the second extramural settlement immediately to the south, and roadways leading down to the Knag Burn to the east and Vindolanda fort and Chapel Hill to the south (adapted from Rushworth, 2009a: 14, fig. 1.10).

4.1.2 History of Excavation and Fieldwork

The excavation and fieldwork conducted at Housesteads can be divided into 4 separate sections, within the fort (section 4.1.2.1), the first and second extramural settlements (sections 4.1.2.2 and 4.1.2.3 respectively), and Chapel Hill (section 4.1.2.4). Information of the past excavations and fieldwork conducted at Housesteads will be presented in the next four sub sections providing background of archaeological activity at the site, and the extent of that activity.

4.1.2.1 *Fort Excavations and Fieldwork*

The first excavation of Housesteads was of the southern gateway by Hodgson in the summer of 1822, and continued by Hodgson in 1830 (Birley, 1937:180-181; Rushworth, 2009a: 4). In 1831, he excavated the eastern end of building XV revealing a bath suite (Rushworth, 2009a: 8), and the west and east gateways in 1833 (Birley, 1937: 78; Rushworth, 2009a: 8). Further excavation of the west gateway was undertaken by Clayton at the same spot in 1850 and 1851 (Birley, 1937: 180).

In 1898 Bosanquet produced a plan of the fort from the insertion of multiple test pits that remained in use for over half a century (Bidwell, 1997: 23). For the buildings of the western third of the fort (buildings I-VI) and the fort's south-eastern quadrant (buildings XVI-XVII), Bosanquet's excavation notes are the only source of information (Bosanquet, 1898; 1904). The north-west and north-east corners of the fort were excavated by Simpson in 1909 (Biggins & Taylor, 2004b: 51). His work continued in 1911 and 1912 and included a focus on the south-east corner of the fort (and the latrines located there) and the fort's north gateway (Collingwood and Taylor, 1931: 218).

Previously uncovered by Bosanquet's excavations of 1898, the eastern wall of the fort's *principia* (building X – see Fig. 4.3) was left exposed and excavated further in 1954 by Smith (Rushworth, 2009a: 201). Later, in 1959 and 1960, Wilkes excavated Building XIV in the north-east quadrant of the fort (Wilkes, 1960; Wilkes, 1961; see fig. 4.4) in an attempt to recover the original plan of the building along with its various modifications. Continuing his excavations of the buildings in the north-eastern quadrant of the fort, Wilkes teamed up with Leach in 1961 to excavate building XV (Leach and Wilkes, 1962: 83). The excavation exposed all levels of the building's history, though the bath complex on the eastern end had already been excavated over 100 years before by Hodgson (see above).

Wilkes also began excavations on the *praetorium* in 1967 (building XII – see Fig 4.3). These were continued until 1969 by Charlesworth (1975) who also excavated the

fort's hospital (building IX) between 1969 and 1973 (Charlesworth, 1976). His was a fuller plan of the building than Bosanquet's in 1898 and showed that it was a standard Roman military hospital set around a central courtyard (Charlesworth, 1976: 17).

Excavations within the fort continued between 1974 and 1981 when Daniels, Gillam, and Crow managed work on the north-east quadrant (Rushworth, 2009a: 12). The focus of the excavations was on Building XIII (H13), the north and east ramparts, and *intervallum* roadway areas (areas H20 and H21 respectively – see Fig. 4.4 and 4.5), with reinvestigations into the earlier excavated buildings XIV (H14) and XV (H15) (Rushworth, 2009a: 12). The area between buildings XIII and XIV was also excavated (area HSE – see Fig. 4.4 and 4.5). Together, these areas and buildings were further divided into multiple sections for the benefit of contextual recordings (see Fig. 4.5). The thorough recording of small finds from the 1974-1981 excavations provides the majority of artefacts from within the fort for this study. This is in contrast to the earlier excavations of the fort, from which only a small number of artefacts were recorded. Crow also led the last excavation of the fort in 1984 and following the excavation of the ramparts in the north-east quadrant of the fort, the north side of the north curtain wall was excavated roughly 20 metres east of the fort's northern gateway (Crow, 1988: 61).

The excavations of the fort revealed that the internal buildings present throughout the fort's occupation were a commanding officer's quarters/*praetorium* (building XI), a Headquarters/*principia* (building X), a Hospital/*valetudinarium* (building IX), possible baths (building XI), a Granary (building VII), barrack blocks (buildings I, II, III, V, VI, XIII, XIV, XVI, XVII, XVIII), two buildings believed to be workshops (buildings IV and XV), and a building of unknown purpose – building VII (Crow, 2004: 47). The positioning of these buildings can be seen in Figure 4.3. Only buildings IX, XII, XIII, XIV, and XV and rampart areas H20 and H21 excavated in the 1960s and 1970s contained items associated with the presence of women, hence only these will be considered in the present study.

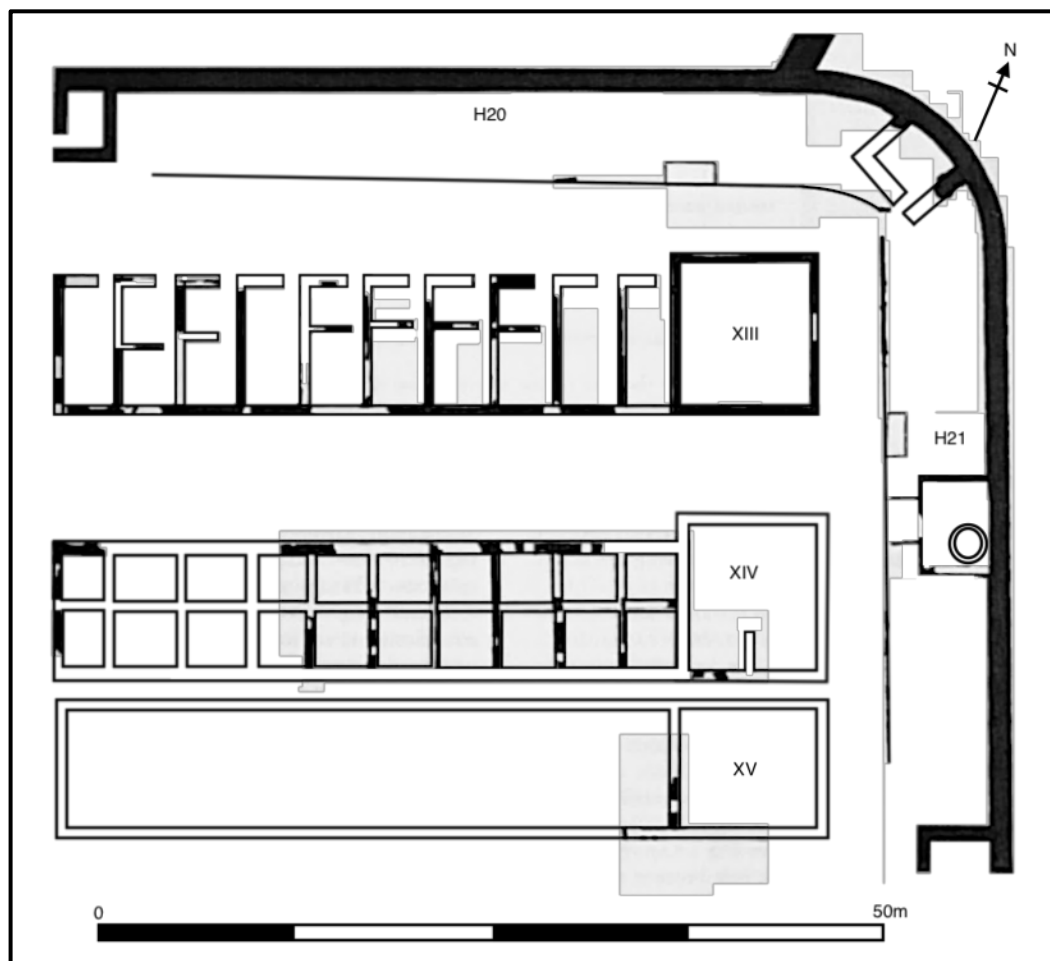


Figure 4.4 Plan of the north east quadrant of Housesteads fort during the first period with the buildings numbered XIII, XIV, and XV (Rushworth, 2009a: 19, fig. 1.12).

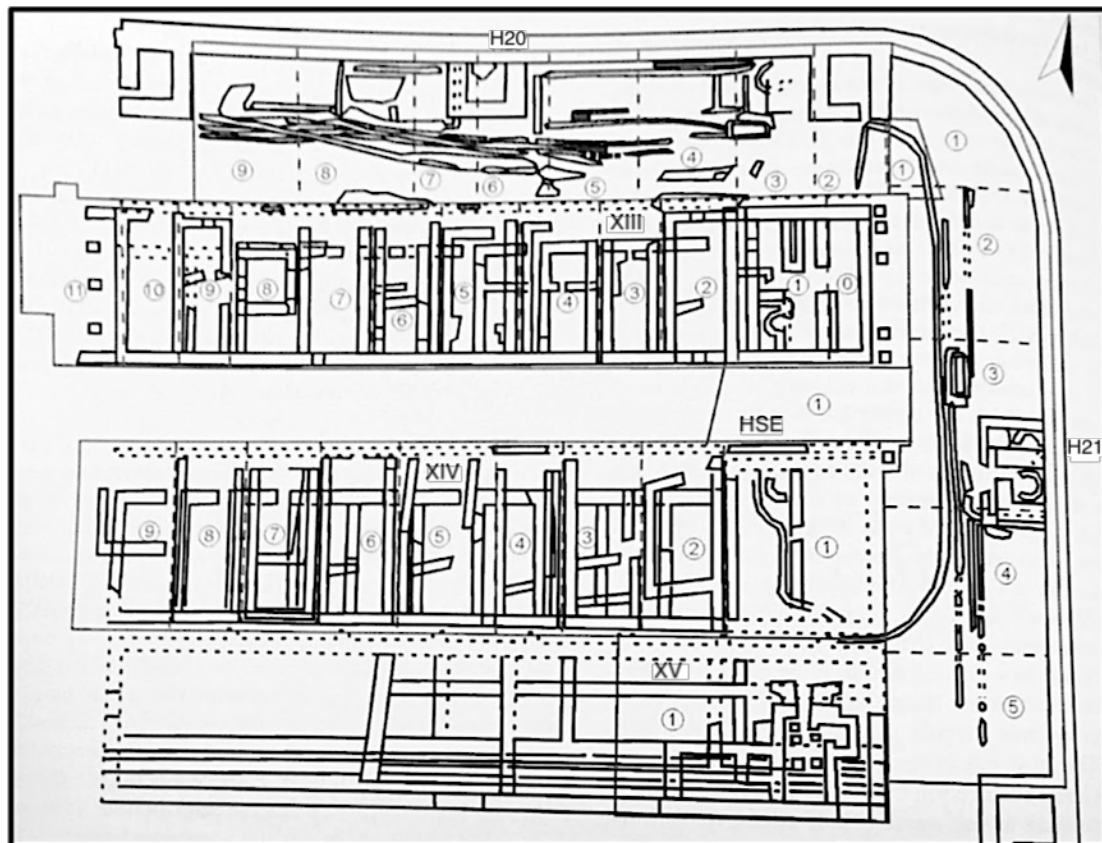


Figure 4.5 Diagram of buildings XIII, XIV, XV and areas H20, H21, and HSE of the north-east quadrant of Housesteads fort from the 1974-1981 excavations. The dashed black lines represent the separation of individual sections in areas H20, H21, and HSE and rooms in buildings XIII, XIV, and XV. The dotted black lines signify the predicted structure walls and the solid black lines signify excavated structural remains (Rushworth, 2009a: 16, fig. 1.11).

4.1.2.2 Excavations and Fieldwork of the First Extramural Settlement

Excavations by Birley took place at the northern foot of Chapel Hill in 1960 and 1961 with five Roman buildings being uncovered (see Fig. 4.6). Birley's discoveries identified the location of an earlier extramural settlement making the one immediately south of the fort, the site's second (Birley, 1961; Birley, 1962a). The number of finds recorded from the first extramural settlement is very low with a lack

of accompanying contextual information. Hence, limited information about the lives of women from the first extramural settlement can be extracted.

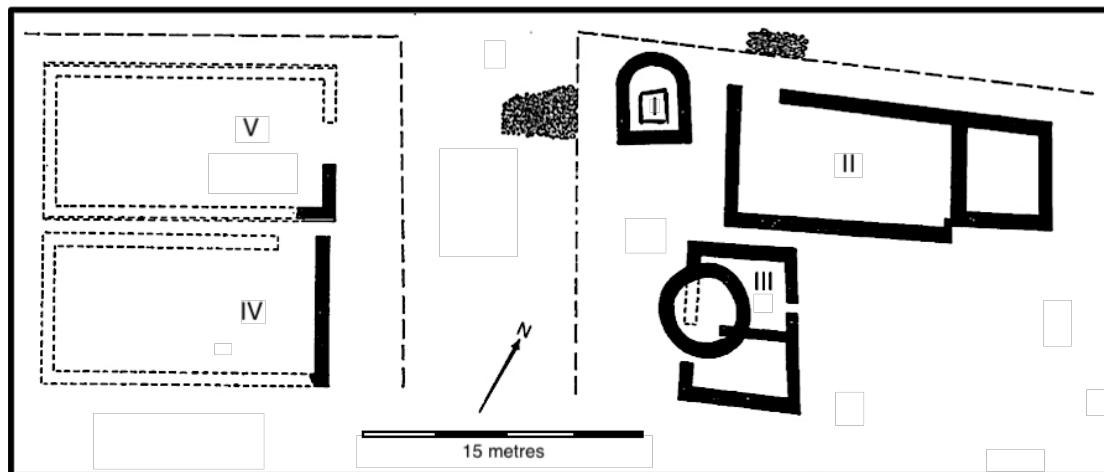


Figure 4.6 Plan of buildings I, II, III, IV and V of the first extramural settlement. Solid black lines indicate excavated remains and dashed indicates hypothesised existence (Birley, 1962a: 117-135).

One temple, dated after AD 196, was found built over the workshop of extramural settlement one (building III – cf. Birley, 1962a, fig. 1). Perhaps more accurately described as a shrine, the temple was round with a 4-metre diameter. Identified as a temple dedicated to *Mars Thincsus*¹¹ and the two *Alaisiagae*¹² through multiple altars (H. 146, H.150), its crude construction implies that it was constructed speedily and without in-depth architectural knowledge (Birley and Keeney, 1935: 230; Birley, 1962a: 119). It is plausible that when auxiliary units were garrisoned at Housesteads, temples or shrines to their gods were built hastily. Since the temple was dedicated to a Germanic god and two Germanic goddesses, and the construction date roughly

¹¹ The God Mars known by the *cuneus Frisiorum* as the Germanic God *Mars Thincsus* (Heath, 2017).

¹² The two *Alaisiagae* were Germanic and Celtic goddesses of Victory often appearing in pairs (Donahue, 1941: 9; Galestin, 2007/8: 701).

coincides with the *cuneus Frisiorum* garrison, it can be said that the *cuneus Frisiorum* built this temple.

4.1.2.3 *Excavations and Fieldwork of the Second Extramural Settlement*

Although excavations outside the fort led by Bosanquet and Hodgson had taken place during the 1890s, it was not until the excavations between 1931 and 1934 by Birley, Charlton, and Hedley that an extensive study was undertaken in the Housesteads extramural settlement immediately south of the fort (Birley et al, 1933; Birley and Charlton, 1934), and a total of 26 buildings were uncovered (see Fig. 4.7). These buildings are positioned around multiple roads leading south, one of which is likely to have linked up with the military road, the Stanegate, and also to Chapel Hill. Like the recordings from the excavations of the first extramural settlement, a small number of artefacts were recorded from the 1931-1934 excavations of the second extramural settlement (see Birley et al, 1933; Birley and Charlton, 1934); though they were not accompanied with contextual information and can only offer limited insight into the lives of women in the area.

The most recent fieldwork in the second extramural settlement was a geophysical survey covering 7 hectares in 2003 (Biggins and Taylor, 2004b: 51). Magnetometry and resistivity techniques were used in the area immediately west and south of the fort (see Fig. 4.8) and provided a clearer picture of the settlement's size and of the kinds of buildings that existed but had not been excavated. Identifying the buildings and their functions (e.g., religious, domestic, industrial, agricultural) from the survey provided a better understanding of the community and its activities, including those undertaken by women.

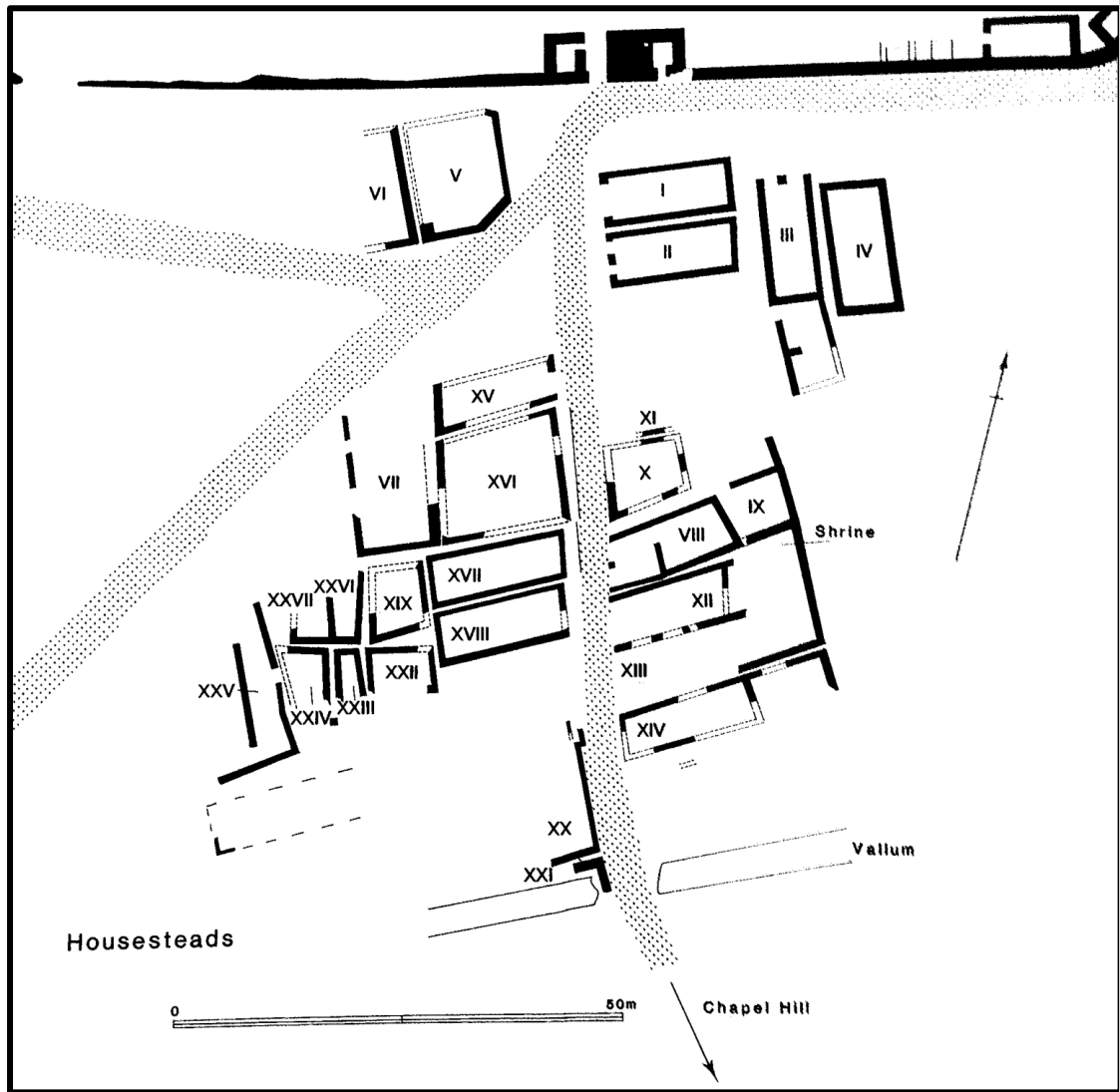


Figure 4.7 Plan of the buildings uncovered belonging to the second extramural settlement excavated in 1931-1934 (see Crow, 2004).

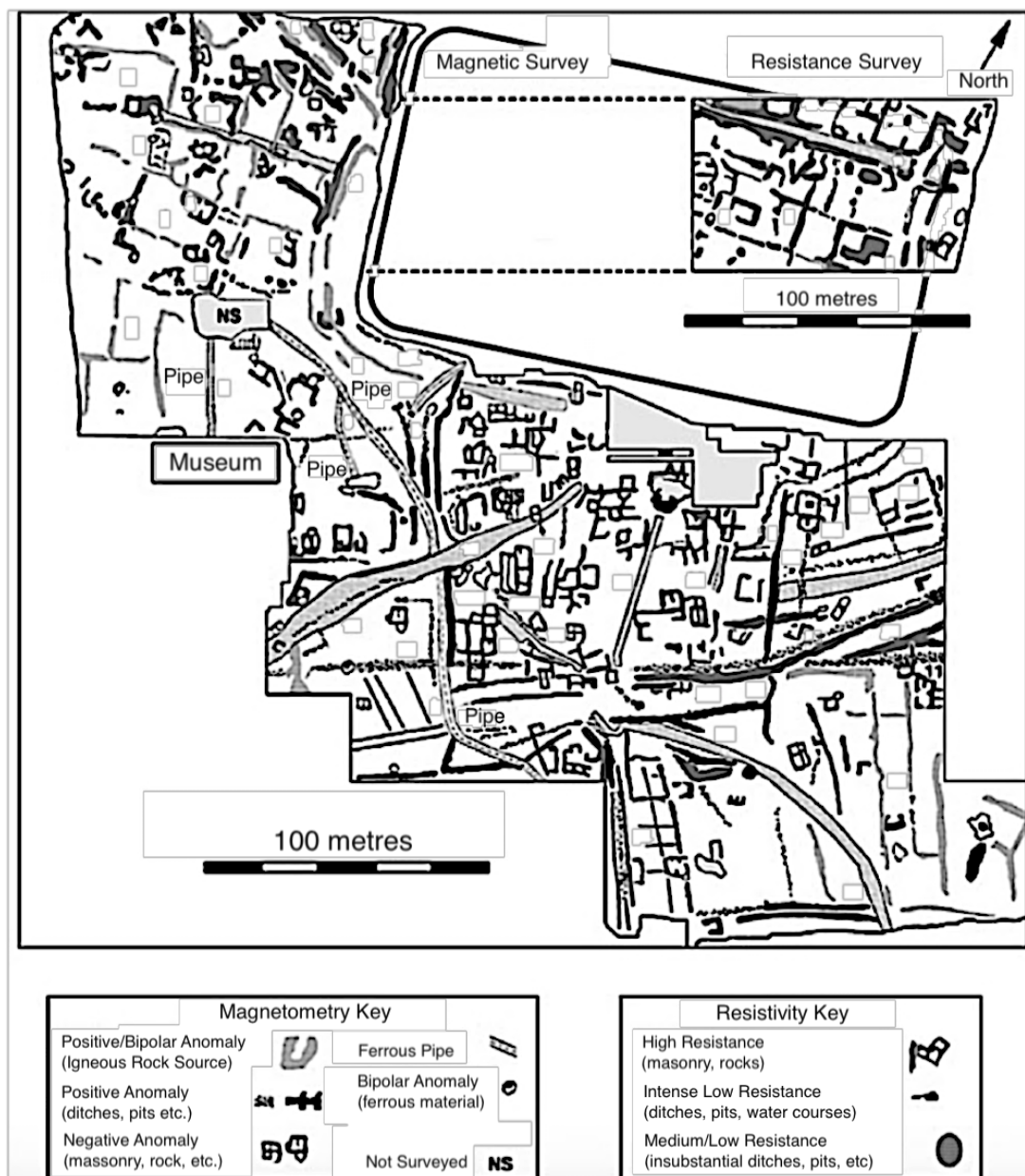


Figure 4.8 Image of the 2003 resistivity and magnetometry survey completed around the fort of Housesteads (Biggins and Taylor, 2004b: 57).

4.1.2.4 *Chapel Hill Excavations and Fieldwork*

Chapel Hill is believed to have been the primary religious centre of the site; the remains of numerous temples, tombstones, altars, and sculptures indicate this. The earliest excavation at Chapel Hill was undertaken by Hodgson in 1822 (Hodgson, 1822), its focus was a temple subsequently excavated by Bosanquet in 1898 (Birley and Keeney, 1935: 230). Two altars dedicated to variations of the Mithras the Persian sun-god (one is dedicated to 'Mytras' by a '*beneficiarius* of the Governor'¹³ (H.148) and the other dedicated to 'Mitrás' by a Centurion -H.147) have led to the temple being identified as a *Mithraeum*. Building V of the second extramural settlement has been identified as the residence of a *beneficiaries consularis* because of the stonework's grandeur.

A second excavation of Chapel Hill in 1932 was completed with one trench dug along the crest and another at the foot (Birley *et. al.*, 1933: 91-92). Although excavations have been conducted at Chapel Hill, no evidence associated with the presence of women has been found and hence, the presence of women at Chapel Hill is not analysed in this study.

Those areas that have been excavated best are the 27 buildings of the second extramural settlement (see Birley *et al.*, 1933; Birley and Charlton, 1934), and the northeastern quadrant of the fort (see Rushworth, 2009a; 2009b). Most finds, especially the small finds used in this study originate from excavations of the northeastern quadrant between 1974 and 1981 (see Rushworth, 2009a; 2009b).

¹³ A *beneficiarius* of the Imperial Governor of Britain (*beneficiaries consularis*) would have had the role of overseeing the roads and transport (Crow, 2004: 75).

4.1.3 Housesteads Periods and Phases

This section links the different periods of the fort and the different phases of the two extramural settlements to establish their interconnectivity. This will provide clarity for the areas being occupied and the time of their occupation.

The Roman military occupation of the fort has been classified in five periods, which will be used as the 5 periods of the site into which the different phases of the extramural settlements will fit (see Table 4.1). **Period I** dates roughly from AD 122 to 138 and is associated with the occupation immediately after the fort's construction. **Period II** is concerned with the modification of the primary fort from approximately AD 138 to the latter part of the third century AD (Dungworth, 2001: 1). **Period III** coincides with the tetrarchy (AD 293 – 313) implemented by Emperor Diocletian (Roger, 2004) more commonly known within the fort as the 'chalet phase' (Dungworth, 2001: 1; Rushworth, 2009a; Crow, 2004) dating from the late 3rd century AD to c. AD 300. **Period IV** was the time of modification of the 'chalet phase' from roughly AD 300 to AD 400 (Dungworth, 2001: 1; Rushworth, 2009: 20). **Period V** was the dereliction of Housesteads roughly dating from AD 400 to AD 410.

The domestic occupation of the first extramural settlement is estimated to have lasted from soon after the construction of the Wall until the end of the second century AD and start of the third century AD – phases I and II (Birley, 1962a). After domestic occupation ended a religious occupation continued in the same area in the form of temples – phase III and IV (see Table 4.1).

Table 4.1 – A Table Showing the Periods of Housesteads, Phases of Construction of the First and Second Extramural Settlements, and the Military Garrisons of the Site (from Birley, 1962a: 117-135; Birley and Keeney, 1935: 247; Rushworth, 2009a: 19).

Site Periods:	First Extramural Settlement Phases of Construction:	Second Extramural Settlement Phases of Construction:	Garrison:
Period I (The Primary Fort) c. AD 122/4 – 138 (Hadrianic period).	<i>Phase I</i> c. AD 122 – mid second century (AD 150)		First Cohort of Tungrians, Second Legion <i>Augusta</i> , Sixth Legion <i>Victrix</i> simultaneously.
Period II (Modifications to the Primary Fort) c. AD 138 - 290.	<i>Phase II</i> c. AD 150 – 196 (Beginning of abandonment of extramural settlement I)		First Cohort of Tungrians and the <i>cuneus Frisiorum</i> .
	<i>Phase III</i> c. AD 200 – 210 roughly	<i>Phase I</i> c. AD 200/10 – c. AD 300 (The majority of the second extramural settlement was abandoned by c. AD 280)	First Cohort of Tungrians.
	<i>Phase IV</i> c. AD 210 – Early third century AD		
Period III (The Chalet Phase) c. AD 290 - AD 300			
Period IV (Modifications to the Chalet Phase) c. AD 300 – 400		<i>Phase II</i> c. AD 300 – c. late fourth/early fifth century AD	First Cohort of Tungrians.
Period V (Dereliction and abandonment of Housesteads) c. AD 400 - 410			First Cohort of Tungrians.

Two phases of construction in the second extramural settlement have been identified (see Table 4.1). The first dating from approximately AD 200/210 to approximately AD 300 with the construction of buildings II, IV, and IX, and the second to approximately AD 300 (the Chalet phase) to the abandonment of the site (Birley and Keeney, 1935: 247).

This first phase of the second extramural settlement coincides with the disuse of the workshop (Building III) in extramural settlement I around AD 196 (Birley, 1962a: 120). Hence, there appears to be a connection between the construction of the second extramural settlement. It has been suggested that the focus of the earlier extramural settlement was industrial, evident through the thick layer of coal dust in the second phase of Building III (Birley, 1962a: 120). The absence of workshops in the vicinity of the second extramural settlement seems to indicate that it was commercially focused and/or that the industrial presence has yet to be uncovered. Industrial buildings required close proximity to water so a possible location could have been near the Knag Burn (Rushworth, 2009a: 241).

The change in extramural settlement location and focus is likely because of the Severan reorganisation of the northern frontier in the late second and early third centuries (Toynbee, 1960: 165). This could have caused extramural settlements across Hadrian's Wall to be relocated nearer their associated forts. Furthermore, it is likely that the rapid expansion of the second extramural settlement was aided by the peace experienced on the frontier zone immediately after Caracalla withdrew the Roman military from Scotland after the death of his father Septimus Severus in AD 211 (Birley and Keeney, 1935: 217).

The abandonment of the second extramural settlement, with the exception of a few buildings (I, II, III, and VIII), is suggested from numismatic evidence to have been approximately AD 280 (Allason-Jones, 2013: 71; Curteis: 1988: 117). Therefore, most of the extramural settlement was abandoned by the end of Period II with a partial occupation continuing for some time afterwards (Curteis: 1988: 117).

4.1.4 Military occupation of the site

The first soldiers garrisoned at Housesteads during Period I were infantry units from the *Legio II Augusta* (Second Legion Augusta) and the *cohors I Tungrorum milliaria* (First Cohort of Tungrians) – see Table 4.1. The strength of this first garrison is suggested to have been around 800-1,000 men (Crow, 2004: 27). During the stay of the Second Legion Augusta two altars were erected to Jupiter (H.141 and H.140) one of which (H.140) was also dedicated to the god *Cocidius* (H.141). Although not initially garrisoned at Housesteads, the presence of the Sixth Legion *Victrix*, who also took part in constructing Hadrian's Wall (Lendering, 2015), is demonstrated at Housesteads through a dedicated altar (H.136).

Once the wall and fort had been constructed, the soldiers of the first Cohort of Tungrians remained garrisoned there until the construction of the Antonine Wall. With its construction starting in AD 142 (during period II of Housesteads), the Antonine Wall was garrisoned with troops from sites on Hadrian's Wall, Housesteads was one such site (Breeze and Dobson, 2000: 90-2). It has been speculated that there was a brief period of abandonment at Housesteads during the reign of Antoninus Pius, and the occupation of the Antonine Wall between AD 138 and AD 161 (Huskinson, 2013: x). However, although troops from Housesteads were relocated, this did not cause complete military abandonment at Housesteads (Crow, 1995: 59). The epigraphic record at Castlecary on the Antonine Wall indicates some of the First Tungrians occupied the site in AD 142 (Crow, 1995: 59). From the evidence of an inscription on an altar by the soldiers of the Second Legion: 'on garrison duty' (See H.141 inscription; Crow, 1995: 59), it is believed that a caretaker garrison was implemented at Housesteads during the occupation of the Antonine Wall (AD 142-162). After the abandonment of the Antonine Wall, the First Tungrians returned to Housesteads by the 3rd century AD – evidenced through the seven altars throughout the site (see H.137, H.138, H.142, H.143, H.144, H.148, and H.149) dedicated to Silvanus (H.137), Hercules (H.138), Jupiter (H.142-3), Mars (H.148), and to the Mother Goddesses (H.149).

Later, during the 3rd century AD (period II), altars (H.150 and H.167) show the *Cuneus Frisiorum*¹⁴ joined the First Tungrians – see Table 4.1 (Crow, 2004: 80). Later from period III until the abandonment of the site around AD 410, the First Cohort of Tungrians occupied Housesteads (see Table 4.1).

4.2 Presence of women at Housesteads

4.2.1 First Extramural Settlement

Birley (1961; 1962a) recorded a small number of artefacts associated with the presence of women from his excavations of the first extramural settlement. For example, the multiple bone pins (H.116) and beads of unknown number (H.117) that were found from the well in Building I - see Fig. 4.6 (Birley, 1961: 309). Although detailed accounts of their dimensions, find contexts and decoration are not available, the discovery of items like hairpins points to the possibility of the presence of women. Made of bone, the hairpins and beads are not, in themselves, suggestive of affluence. Hence, they more closely indicate the presence of women of limited wealth.

An explanation for the presence of hairpins and beads in the well could be the result of dumping, disposed by women on their way to the temple to *Mars Thincsus* and the two *Alaisiagae* (Building III – see Fig. 4.6). If this were the case, the women concerned may have been attached in some way to the *cuneus Frisiorum* as an altar that was dedicated to that temple (H.150). Since the temple was constructed after the domestic and industrial abandonment of the first extramural settlement in roughly AD 200, it can be suggested that women continued to have a presence at the area after its focus shifted to religion and worship – the 4th century pottery found in the well of Building I suggests this (Birley, 1961: 309). However, the limited data

¹⁴ The *Cuneus Frisiorum* were Frisian mercenaries routinely used by the Roman military in Britain (Clay, 2008: 13) who came from the coastal plains of the modern-day Netherlands.

recorded from this area restricts the interpretations of the presence of women in the area.

4.2.2 Second Extramural Settlement

The evidence for the presence of women within the second extramural settlement of Housesteads is of relatively low quality (see section 4.1.2.3). Although many different excavations of the extramural settlement took place, the most thorough and informative was conducted over a four-year period from 1931 to 1934 (see Birley et al, 1933; Birley and Charlton, 1934). The majority of information and evidence for the presence of women within the second extramural settlement originates from these excavations and comprises a small number of artefacts (section 4.2.2.1), and skeletal remains (section 4.2.2.2).

4.2.2.1 Artefacts

Of the artefacts 66 recorded from the 1931-34 excavations of the second extramural settlement, only three are of the type that suggest the presence of women (Birley and Charlton, 1934: 201-2; Birley *et. al.*, 1933: 82-96). They are two bronze hairpins (H.118 and H.119 - Fig. 4.9) associated with the dress and personal adornment of women (see Chapter 2 section 2.4.1.2.1), and a shale palette fragment (H.120 - Fig. 4.10) associated with the application of cosmetics (see Chapter 2 section 2.4.1.1.2). The find locations of the three artefacts are unknown and they were found unstratified and hence not assigned to any period or date.

The unprovenanced nature of the artefacts from the second extramural settlement limits their usefulness. What can be suggested is that a woman participated in the mixing and application of cosmetics and although used to demonstrate wealth through the time-consuming act (Kunst, 2005: 127), did not require wealth to afford the ingredients because they were widely available (Olson, 2009: 291-292).

Furthermore, the common use of bronze in personal adornment suggests the owner(s) of the bronze hairpins (H.118 and H.119) was (were) not particularly wealthy (see Dungworth, 1995; Jackson, 1985). The limited artefact evidence inhibits the application of such conclusions across the entire second extramural settlement.

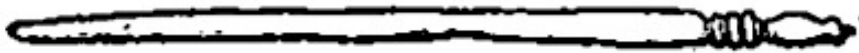


Figure 4.9 H.119 – Image of a bronze hairpin with a moulded top found unstratified in the second extramural settlement (Birley and Charlton, 1934: 185-205).

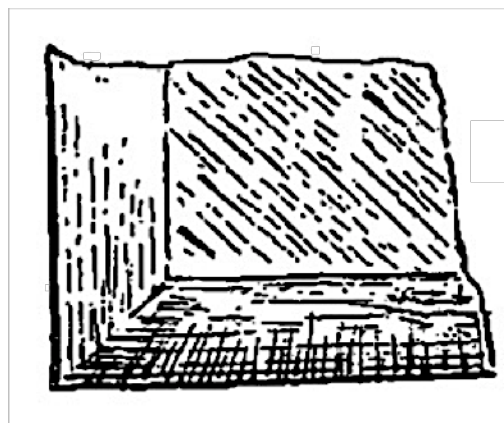


Figure 4.10 H.120 - Image of a fragment of a shale palette found unstratified in the second extramural settlement (Birley and Charlton, 1934: 185-205).

4.2.2.2 *Skeletal Remains*

A particularly famous discovery on the Roman frontier of Britain was the remains of two skeletons found within Building VIII of the second extramural settlement. Identified as a tavern, Building VIII is situated on the east side of the south-leading road (see Fig. 4.7) (Allason-Jones, 2013: 75; Crow, 2004: 78). One of the skeletons

has been identified as a tall robust middle-aged male and the other probably a female because of its smaller size (Birley *et. al.*, 1933: 88). Admitted by the excavators (Birley, *et. al.*, 1933: 88), the uncertainty of the latter's sex identification is due to the fragmented remains. Unfortunately, a reanalysis of the remains cannot be undertaken because they have since become lost (English Heritage, n.d.).

The male skeleton is important because of its connection to the female: they were both buried beneath an unusually thick layer of clay dating to the later years of phase I – that is to say, roughly between AD 300 and AD 368 (Birley *et al.*, 1933: 88-90; Crow, 2004: 78). All that is known of the positions of the skeletons is that they 'could not represent a ceremonial internment' (Birley *et. al.*, 1933: 88-90). To support this, if they were ritually interred, it is probable that burial goods would have been added, but none have been found.

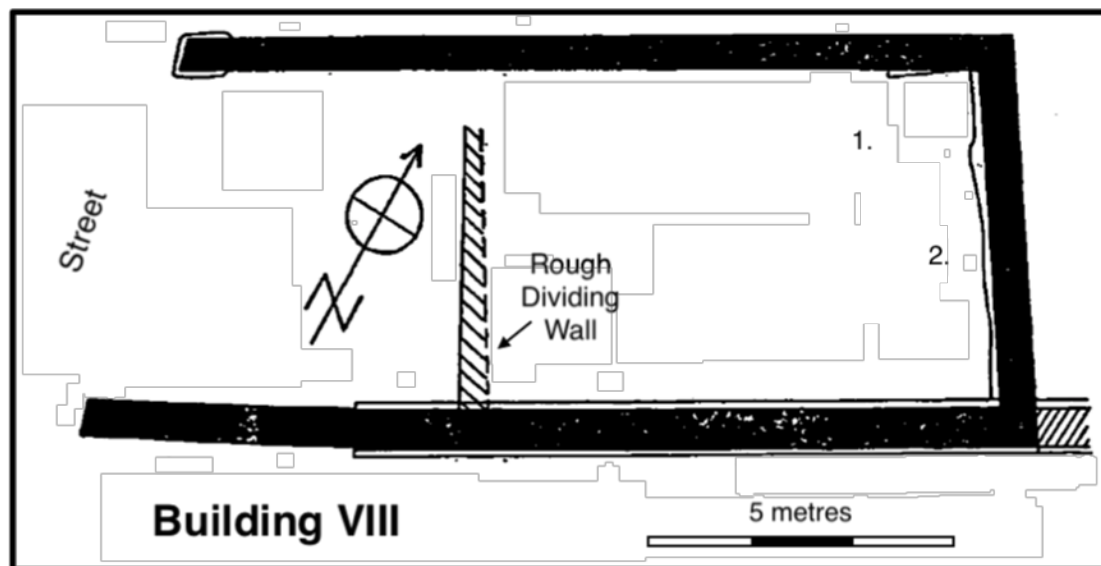


Figure 4.11 A plan of building VIII in the second extramural settlement of Housesteads with the location of the female skeletal remains denoted by "1." and the male skeletal remains denoted by "2." (adapted from Birley *et. al.*, 1933: 87).

If both skeletons were buried at roughly the same time, the reason for the death of one may be related to the death of the other. A mortal knife wound is exhibited in the ribs of the male skeleton and indicates a murder (Rushworth, 2009a: 245). The lack of a ceremonial internment suggests it was not a ceremonial killing. No cause of death has been identified for the potentially female skeleton. The lack of ceremonial internment would suggest the female skeleton was also a murder victim.

Alternatively, a lack of a ceremonial internment could be the result of low economic wealth. Although the proximity of one to the other may be unrelated, it is too much of an isolated incident to be coincidence. This is supported by the fact that there were designated areas for the burial of individuals, as well as laws preventing the burial of human bodies within settlement limits (Tonybee, 1996: 73). An assault on the fort could explain the deaths of the man and woman. If this was the case, there should be the remains of fire damage in the archaeological record. Unlike the late 3rd century *Principia* of Bewcastle fort on Hadrian's Wall (Curteis, 1988: 118), no such destructive evidence exists at Housesteads. Therefore, it is likely that their deaths were the result of a transgression.

The female skeleton may have been someone who worked as a barmaid or innkeeper at Building VIII assuming its function as a tavern did not change. Evidence from the Roman fortress of *Vindonissa* shows women fulfilled these roles within the sites' taverns (Speidal, 1996: 55 & 80). This would explain her presence within Building VIII, however, the limited evidence does not allow for any further interpretation.

In summary, although little can be discerned about the cause of death of the woman, she was present within the second extramural settlement of Housesteads during a time where much of it was abandoned (Birley et al., 1933: 88; Miller, 1975: 144), and found within a tavern which likely had a different function at the time of her internment. Hence, the female skeletal remains of Building VIII show women were still present within the partially abandoned extramural settlement of Housesteads during Period IV while the First Cohort of Tungrians were garrisoned.

4.2.3 The Fort

The quality of evidence for the presence of women within the fort differs from the *praetorium* (Building XII) and Hospital (Building IX) to the north east quadrant. A small number of artefacts without contextual information were recorded in total from the *praetorium* and Hospital, whereas, most of the artefacts from the north east quadrant all had relatively detailed contextual information. The latter provides the substantive evidence for the presence of women and will be structured according to where they were found: Buildings IX (section 4.2.3.1), XII (section 4.2.3.2), XIII (section 4.2.3.3), XIV (section 4.2.3.4), XV (section 4.2.3.6), rampart areas H20 and H21 (section 4.2.3.7 And 4.2.3.8 respectively), and the area between Buildings VIII and XIV referred to as HSE (section 4.2.3.5) - see Fig. 4.3. The evidence comprises artefacts of dress and personal adornment, and artefacts related to activities undertaken more exclusively by women (see Chapter 2 section 2.4.1.1 and 2.4.1.2).

4.2.3.1 Building IX

Building IX, identified as a hospital (*valetudinaria*), consisted of multiple rooms surrounding a central courtyard (see Fig. 4.12; Charlesworth, 1976). The 1969 to 1973 excavations of the hospital conducted by Charlesworth (1976: 30) recorded only one artefact that could suggest the presence of women: a glass bead of unknown find location and period (H.134). Although there is no evidence of women working within Roman fort hospitals, the opinion of women with medical expertise or experience may have been utilised (Allason-Jones, 1999: 144). This could explain the minimal number of artefacts associated with the presence of women found in the Housesteads hospital (only a glass bead) – women could have been occasionally present for advice when required. However, with only a glass bead found, the presence of women is contentious as it does not clearly suggest the presence of women, only raises the possibility. Further interpretation is restricted by the limited amount of evidence.

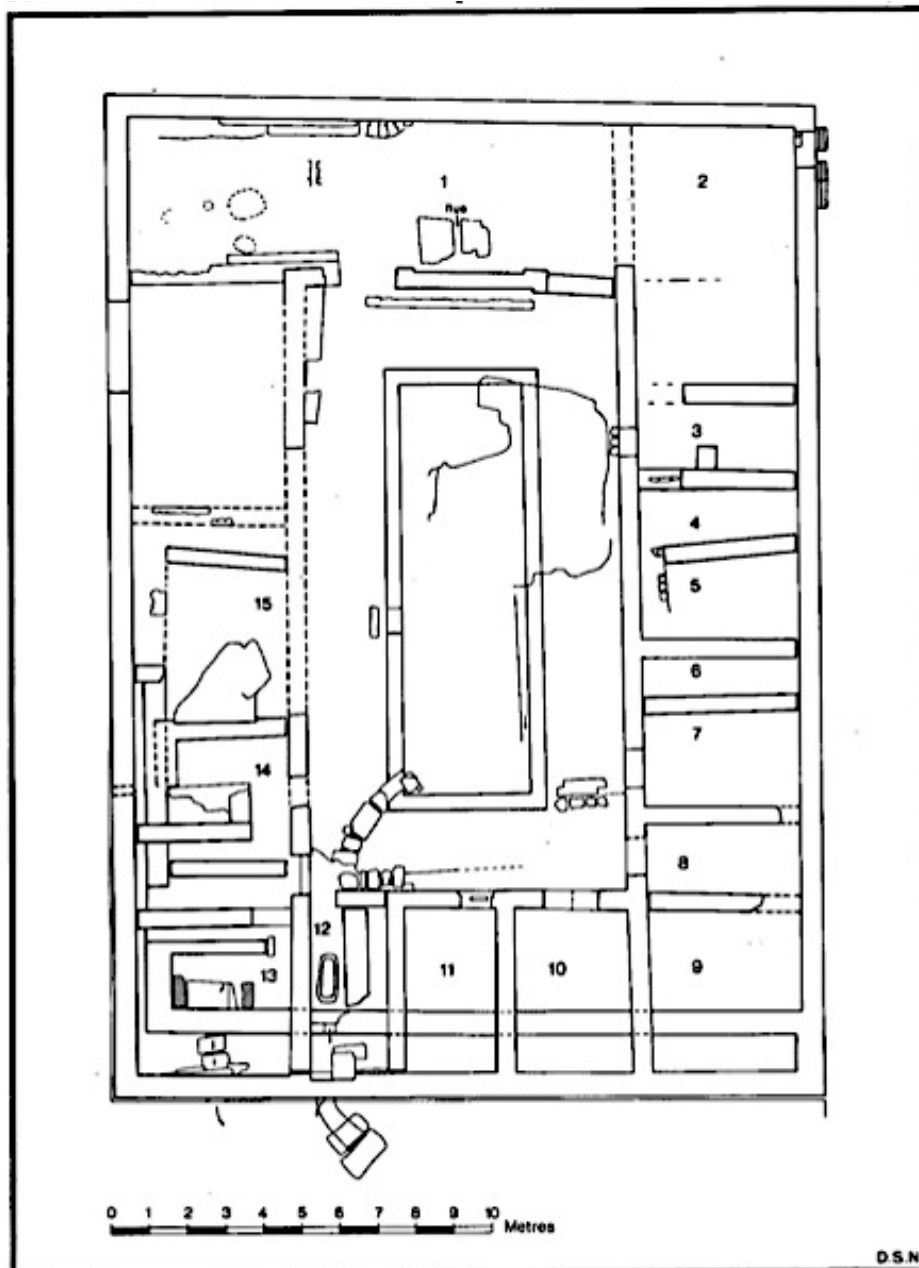


Figure 4.12 Plan of the Fort's hospital from the 1969 to 1973 excavations with structural phases shown by the overlapping black lines (Charlesworth, 1976: 17-30).

4.2.3.2 Building XII

Building XII, the *praetorium*, consisted of 13 rooms in the first period with the structure expanding throughout the occupation to later consist of 19 rooms surrounding a central courtyard in period IV (see Fig. 4.13 and 4.14; Crow, 2004: 53 & 91). Two artefacts of dress and personal adornment were found during the *praetorium* excavations of 1967 to 1969: two bone hairpins – one with a pinecone head found in the topsoil (H.131, see Fig. 4.15), and one with a domed head and a broken point found in room 7 without a known period of belonging (H.132, see Fig. 4.16) (Charlesworth, 1975).

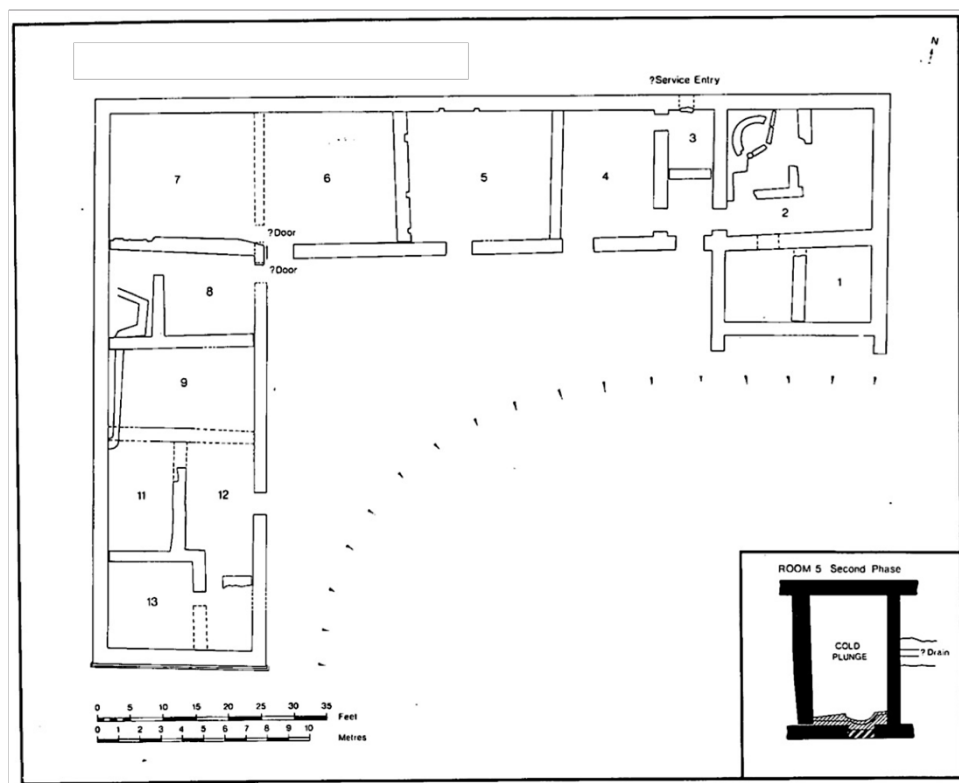


Figure 4.13 Plan of the Housesteads *praetorium* of period I consisting of 13 rooms (Charlesworth, 1975: 19).

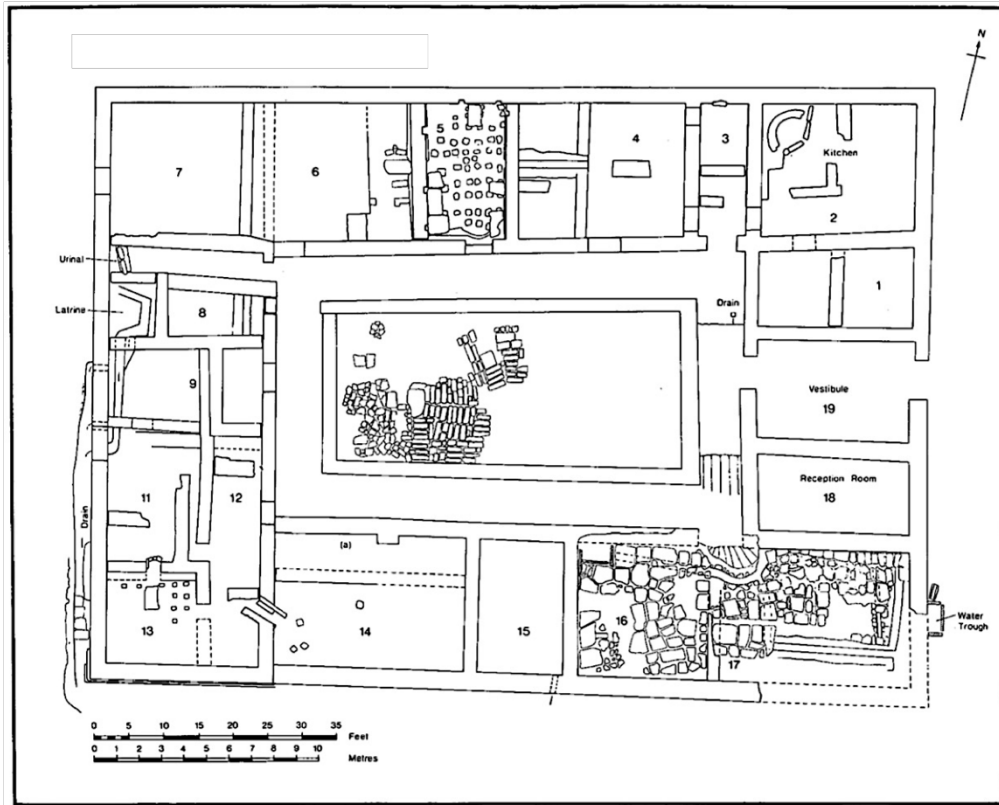


Figure 4.14 Plan of the Housesteads *praetorium* in period IV consisting of 19 rooms (Charlesworth, 1975: 21).

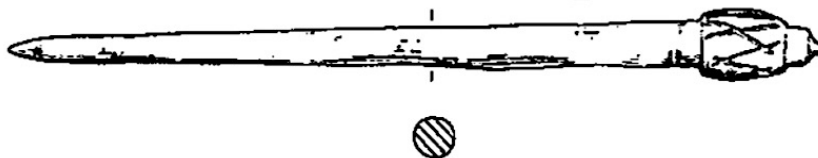


Figure 4.15 Sketch of a hairpin with a pine-cone head (H.131) with cross section (Charlesworth, 1975: 38).

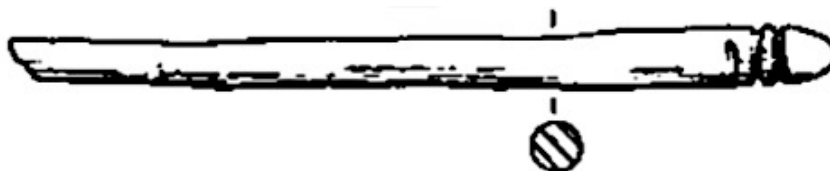


Figure 4.16 Sketch of a hairpin with a domed head and a missing point (H.132) with cross section (Charlesworth, 1975: 38).

The hairpin with the pine-cone head (H.131, see Fig. 4.15) would have required more skilled craft-work and would have been costlier than H.132 (see Fig. 4.16) suggesting that it was perhaps owned by someone wealthier than the owner of H.132. Found in the topsoil, the precise period to which the hairpin belongs is unknown, and also raises the question of whether it belonged to the *praetorium* or was moved there. It is possible that the hairpin was not moved far from its original location and therefore came from the *praetorium*. H.132 provides evidence for the presence of women in room 7. The function of this room is unknown.

The small number of artefacts uncovered from the building makes it difficult to infer the scale of female presence; and it is likely that the amount of material uncovered does not accurately represent the true extent. It is well known that the officers stationed at frontier forts took their families with them along with numerous servants (Rushworth, 2009a: 300) – the multiplicity of rooms comprising the average *praetorium* enabled all of them to be accommodated. Furthermore, evidence from a *praetorium* of Vindolanda proves women were present within the *praetorium* of frontier forts (cf. Vindolanda *Lepidina* tablets).

With only minimal evidence for the presence of women at the Housesteads Hospital and *Praetorium*, the six sections of the fort's north east quadrant (sections 4.2.3.3 to 4.2.3.8) are much more illuminating.

4.2.3.3 *Building XIII*

Due to the good quality of stratigraphic recording in the north east quadrant excavations of 1974-81, Building XIII exhibits a clear recording of the presence of women (see Rushworth, 2009a; 2009b). Identified from its dimensions as a barrack block to house infantry (Crow, 2004: 136), Building XIII has been divided into 12 sections (0-11) by Daniels, Gillam and Crow (Rushworth, 2009a: 12) for the organisation of the recording of finds. The Centurion's quarters on the building's

east end are divided into sections 0 and 1 and the *contubernia*¹⁵ are divided into sections 2 to 10, with each section roughly corresponding to a *contubernium*, and section 11 corresponding with the western veranda (see Fig. 4.17). Dividing into two sub sections, the presentation, distribution, and analysis of data will be split into ‘Centurion’s Quarters’ (see 4.2.3.3.1) and ‘*Contubernia*’ (see 4.2.3.3.2).

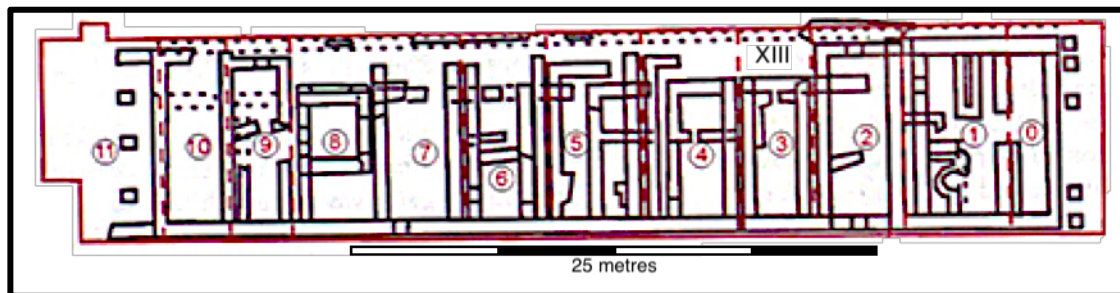


Figure 4.17 Plan of building XIII with the different sections denoted by numbered circles and marked by the dashed black lines. The solid black lines correspond with the building’s structural remains (adapted from Rushworth, 2009a: 16, fig. 1.11).

4.2.3.3.1 Centurion’s Quarters

Out of the 292 artefacts recovered from Building XIII, 17 artefacts related to the presence of women were found in the Centurion’s quarters (Rushworth, 2009b: 430-483). Of these, 10 (all of which are related to the dress and personal adornment of women) are dated to a period of occupation: three to Period II (H.1, H.4, and H.41), one to Period III (H.24), three to Period IV (H.31, H.53, and H.105), and three to Period V (H.21, H.58, and H.109). This suggests that statistically the extent of the presence of women did not change substantially through the periods of occupation. The types of artefacts and their find location dating to periods II, III, IV, and V are shown in Figures 4.18, 4.19, 4.20 And 4.21.

¹⁵ The *contubernia* were the rooms of the barrack blocks that accommodated the lower ranking soldiers (Black, 1994: 103).

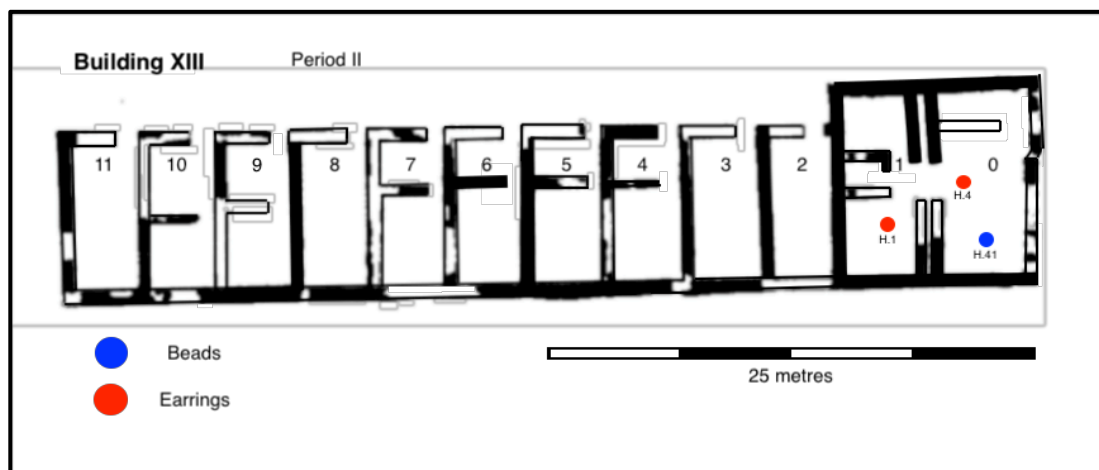


Figure 4.18 A plan of Building XIII during Period II with the distribution of artefacts found associated with the presence of women. The numbers correspond with the sections of the building and the 'H.' numbers correspond with the catalogue number of the artefact (adapted from Rushworth, 2009a: 20, fig. 1.13).

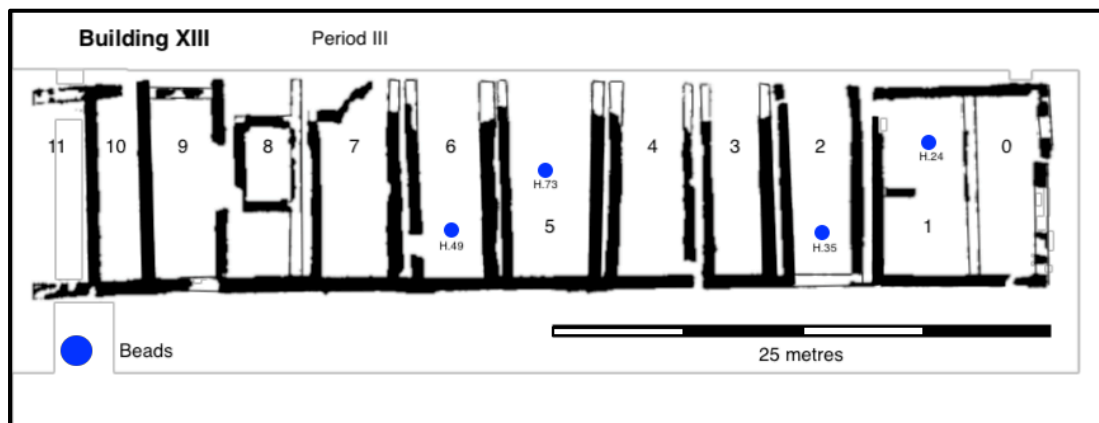


Figure 4.19 A plan of Building XIII during Period III with the distribution of artefacts found associated with the presence of women. The numbers correspond with the sections of the building and the 'H.' numbers correspond with the catalogue number of the artefact (adapted from Rushworth, 2009a: 21, fig. 1.14).

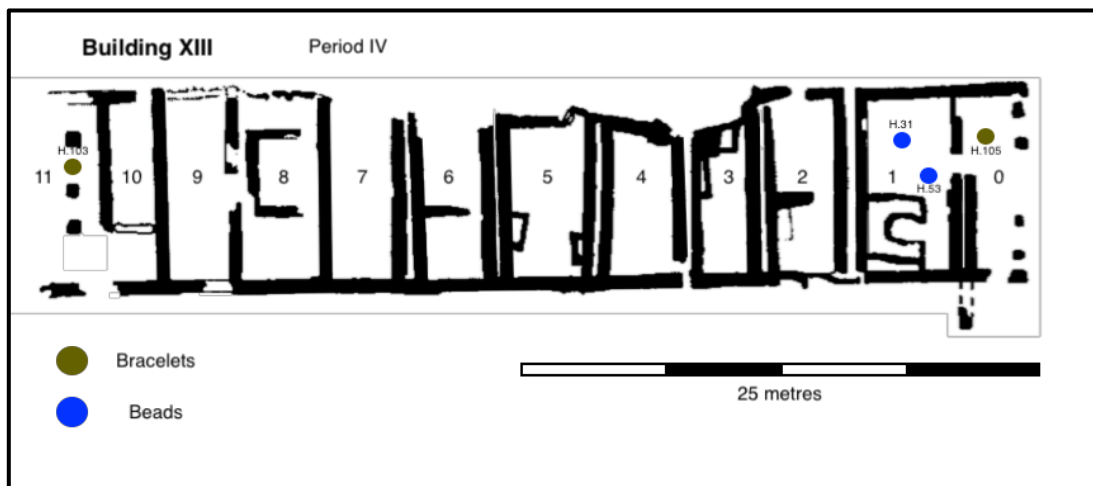


Figure 4.20 A plan of Building XIII during Period IV with the distribution of artefacts found associated with the presence of women. The numbers correspond with the sections of the building and the 'H.' numbers correspond with the catalogue number of the artefact (adapted from Rushworth, 2009a: 22, fig. 1.15).

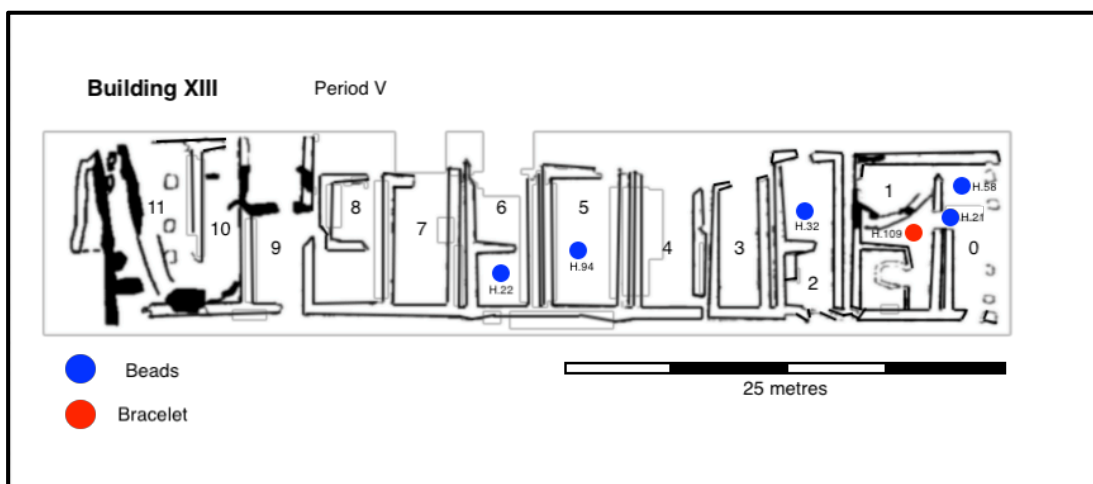


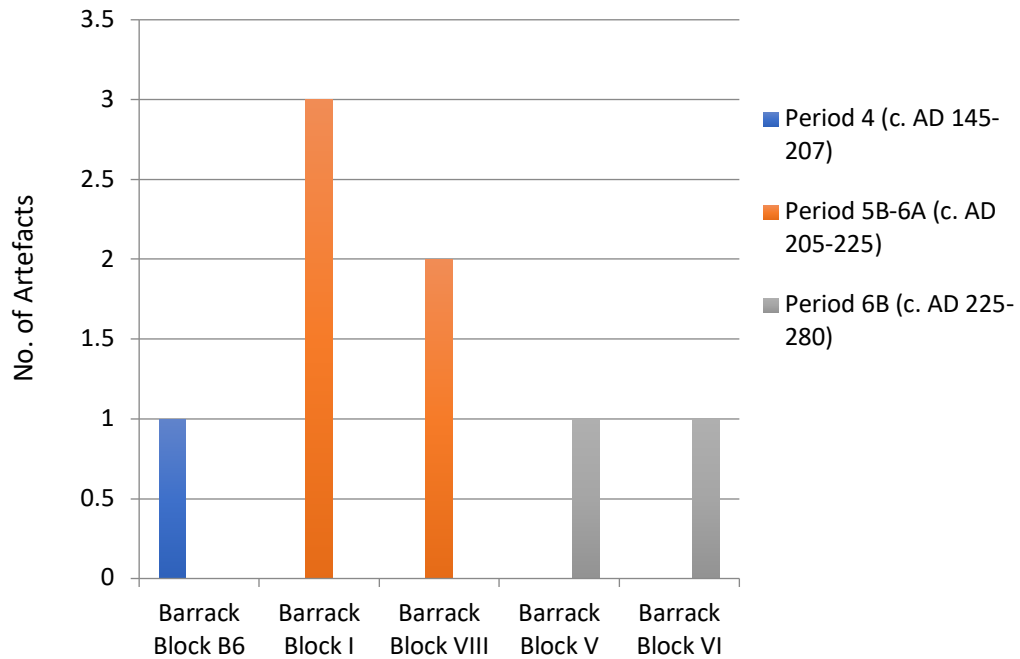
Figure 4.21 A plan of Building XIII during Period V with the distribution of artefacts found associated with the presence of women. The numbers correspond with the sections of the building and the 'H.' numbers correspond with the catalogue number of the artefact (adapted from Rushworth, 2009a: 23, fig. 1.16).

The Centurion's quarters of Building XIII may be considered 'married quarters' even before the Severan edict of AD 197 which gave soldiers the right to marry (Herodian, 3.8.4-5; Allason-Jones, 1999, Phang, 2001). The existence of informal and *de facto* marriages (concubinage) between soldiers and women across the Empire made the concept of 'married quarters' a possibility (Breeze, 2013: 83; Jones, 2012; Rawson, 1974: 279-305). The physical manifestation of such married quarters was possible for Centurions more so than regular legionaries or auxiliary troops; their higher wage and often private living quarters enabled them to maintain a family (Allison, 2011: 165).

The Centurion's quarters of Building XIII as well as within barrack blocks of other forts on Hadrian's Wall were large enough to accommodate a Centurion and his family with an average size of 78-79 square metres (Rushworth, 2009a: 431). However, the artefactual evidence for the presence of women during Period II, as well as Periods III, IV and V, is insufficient to suggest cohabitation of Centurion and wife or family within the Centurions' quarters of Building XIII. Hence, the evidence suggests those women were present on a temporary basis. This is also exhibited in the excavated barrack blocks of South Shields where a maximum of three artefacts associated with the presence of women have been found within a Centurion's or Decurion's quarters, all of which coincide with Period II of Housesteads (see Graph 4.1; Hodgson, 2014: Table 4.2, 4.3, 4.4, and 4.5).

The associated wealth of the silver earring (H.1) from Housesteads Period II makes it worthy of further analysis because it is indicative of a woman's wealth that is otherwise absent from the centurion's quarters of any other period. The owners of those artefacts in the Period II Centurion's quarters are inconclusive – they could have been from concubines to servants (Hodgson, 2014: 24). The same can be said for the artefacts found in Period III, IV and V, which are made of inexpensive materials such as glass, shale, and copper congruent with an owner of a lower social class and wealth.

Graph 4.1 - The Number of Artefacts Associated with the Presence of Women Found within the Centurion's and Decurion's Quarters of Barracks Blocks of the Different Periods of South Shields Fort.

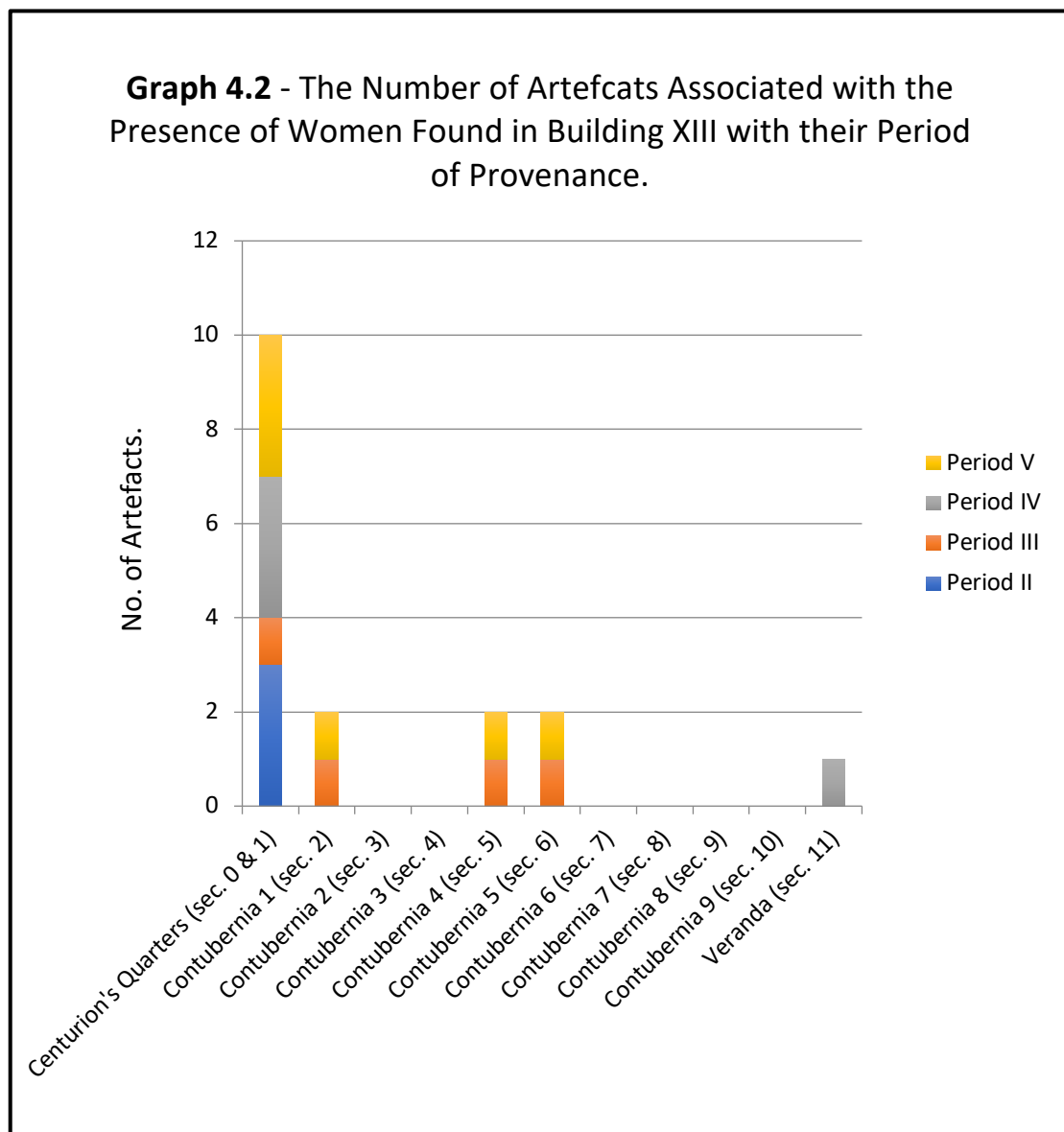


In summary, the evidence associated with the presence of women from the Centurion's quarters of Building XIII suggests those present in Periods II, III, IV and V were not permanent residents. Furthermore, the materials from which the artefacts were made suggest individuals of varying socio-economic status may have been present (Allison, 2013: 1).

4.2.3.3.2 *The Contubernia*

Out of the 292 artefacts recovered from Building XIII, 41 artefacts related to the presence of women have been recovered from the building's *contubernia* (Rushworth, 2009b: 430-483). Of these, 35 were found in the topsoil, and seven date to a period of occupation, but all are associated with the dress and personal

adornment of women. The provenance of these artefacts is shown in figures 4.19, 4.20, and 4.21. Figure 4.19 shows that there were three glass beads (H.35, H.73, and H.49) which indicate the likely presence of women in three sections of Building XIII's *contubernia* during Period III. A shale bracelet fragment (H.103) found in section 11 shows the presence of a woman on the western veranda during Period IV (see Fig. 4.20). Like Period III, two glass beads (H.22 and H.32) and a jet bead (H.94) indicate the presence of women in three sections of the *contubernia* of Building XIII (see Fig. 4.21). This is demonstrated in Graph 4.2 (below) alongside the data from the Centurion's quarters.



The 35 artefacts found in the topsoil do not provide much information about the women in building XIII other than their presence in the area of building XIII. Not more than one artefact associated with the presence of women was found in a single *contubernia* from one period (see Figs. 4.19, 4.20 and 4.21). This, along with the low number of artefacts found suggests that women were present in the *contubernia* of Building XIII but not to any great extent. The absence of evidence in *contubernia* 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, and 9 may be a result of less careful excavation recording (see Graph 4.2); however this is unknown. Evidence for the presence of women within the *contubernia* starts in Period III – the Chalet phase (see Graph 4.2), and it has been argued that the structural transformation of the *contubernia* between Periods II and III can argue the existence of cohabitation between soldiers and families.

The structural transformation consisted of the uniform *contubernia* and centurion's quarters of Periods I and II becoming a row of detached untidy *contubernia* in Periods III and IV (see Fig. 4.22). This change is similarly exhibited at around the same time in the barrack blocks of other forts on Hadrian's Wall: South Shields, Wallsend, and Greatchesters (Bidwell, 1991: 10-14; Bidwell and Speak, 1994; Curteis, 1988: 122; Daniels, 1980: 189-91; Hodgson & Bidwell, 2004: 134). Known as 'chalets', the detached *contubernia* of Roman Forts have been a recent focus of modern scholarly interest in Roman frontier studies (Rushworth, 2009a: 298), and this is important because the present study is partially predicated on the cohabitation of soldiers, women and families (Welsby, 1982: 87-90). An example of this comes from Ellingen Fort where infant burials have been used to suggest men and women cohabited within a barrack block B before AD 197 (Allison, 2006: 17). The historical events of the late 3rd century AD provide some strength to this idea of cohabitation.

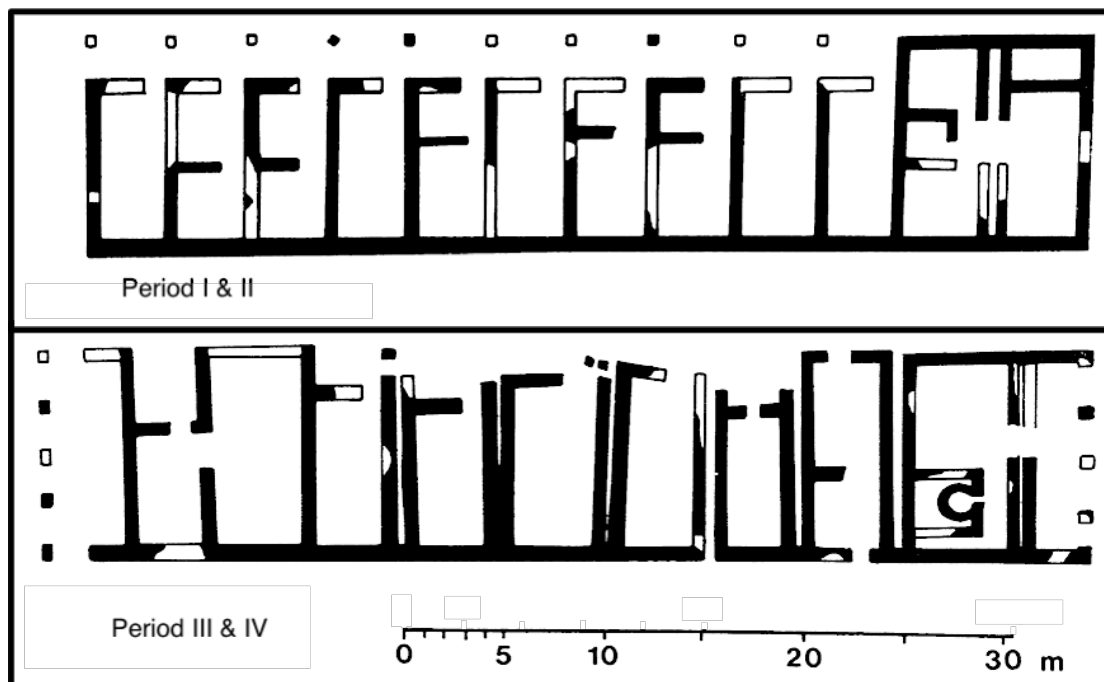


Figure 4.22 Plan of building XIII (barrack block) within Housesteads fort during period I and II (above) and period III and IV (below). The solid black lines signify uncovered structural remains and the hollow area signify predicted structural remains (see Breeze, 2002).

As mentioned in the previous chapter (see Chapter 3.3.3), the separatist regimes of Carausius and Allectus from AD 286 to 296 are likely to have reduced the garrison strength of forts on Hadrian's Wall and required troop relocation from northern Britain to the southern coast (Rushworth, 2009a: 298; Todd, 2008: 398). The forts of Haltonchesters and Rudchester on Hadrian's Wall exhibit this reduction in garrison strength during these regimes (Curteis, 1988: 120; Gillam, 1961 in Curteis, 1988). Military threats persisted originating from the east during the Tetrarchy, which also likely required troop relocation, possibly affecting the already diminished Hadrian's Wall garrison (Rushworth, 2009a: 298). With little archaeological evidence suggesting substantial military threats in northern Britain during this time, those troops on Hadrian's Wall were likely redeployed to the east (Crow, 2004: 89).

As a result of the political climate of the late 3rd century AD, the form and function of the barrack blocks of Housesteads may have changed to accommodate civilians (Allason-Jones, 2013: 83; Welsby, 1982: 87-90). With the space left behind from relocated soldiers, the transformed 'chalet' *contubernia* of Building XIII could, as Welsby (1982: 87-90) argues, have been accommodation for civilians from the fort's abandoned extramural settlement. Such an occurrence is exhibited in the fort of South Shields where from the end of the 3rd century AD onwards, civilians occupied space within the fort (Dore and Gillam, 1979: 69-70). However, Bidwell (1991) rejects the notion of soldier and family cohabitation within the Housesteads barrack blocks, instead believing the chalets represent an irregular *contubernia* structure continuing to house soldiers only. If this was the case, the presence of women would need to be explained in another way.

Carol van Driel-Murray (1995: 12) provides an explanation for the presence of women within Roman fort barrack blocks of Vindolanda using evidence of a certain size of footwear and suggests that this was a result of concubinage. This is in contrast to Buildings B and C at Ellingen Fort, tentatively identified as barrack blocks by Zanier (1992), which were cohabited by soldiers and families or women (see Allison, 2013: 310). However, similar to Vetera I where no evidence has been uncovered in barrack blocks to suggest the cohabitation of women and men (see Allison, 2013: 309), the permanent presence of women within Building XIII of Housesteads is not supported by the evidence. With only seven dated artefacts associated with the presence of women found in the *contubernia* and ten within the Centurions' quarters of Building XIII (see Graph 4.2), the evidence is insufficient to suggest the cohabitation of men and women (Hodgson, 2014). Hence, unlike the conclusions of van Driel-Murray (1995: 12) it is likely that the presence of the artefacts associated with women within Building XIII at Housesteads is better explained as a result of a temporary female presence, possibly from servants,

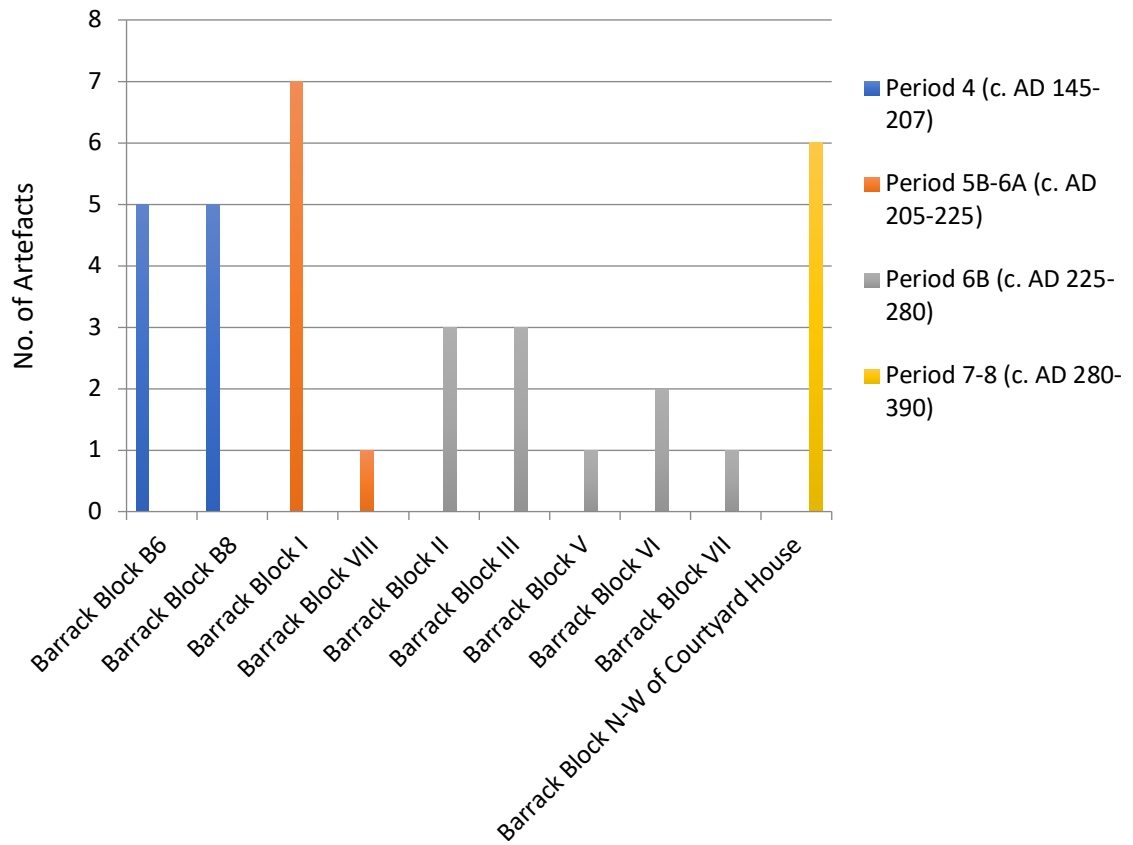
prostitutes, or concubines living within the extramural settlement¹⁶ (Allison, 2013: 1).

Compared to the data for the presence of women within the *contubernia* of Building XIII in Housesteads Fort, the data within the *contubernia* of the barrack blocks of South Shields fort is greater in volume (see Graph 4.3). Although a maximum of seven artefacts associated with the presence of women were found within a block of *contubernia* at South Shields (in Barrack Block I from roughly AD 205 to 225), only three similar artefacts have been found within a single *contubernium* of any of the site's *contubernia* (Hodgson, 2014: Table 4.2, 4.3, 4.4, and 4.5). Hence, the evidence for the presence of women from the South Shields barrack blocks suggests that, like Housesteads, cohabitation of soldier and wife and/or family did not occur in those structures. The recognition that there is no firm evidence for cohabitation of women and men in barrack blocks in Housesteads does not, however, deny their importance to Roman military life (Hodgson, 2014: 27).

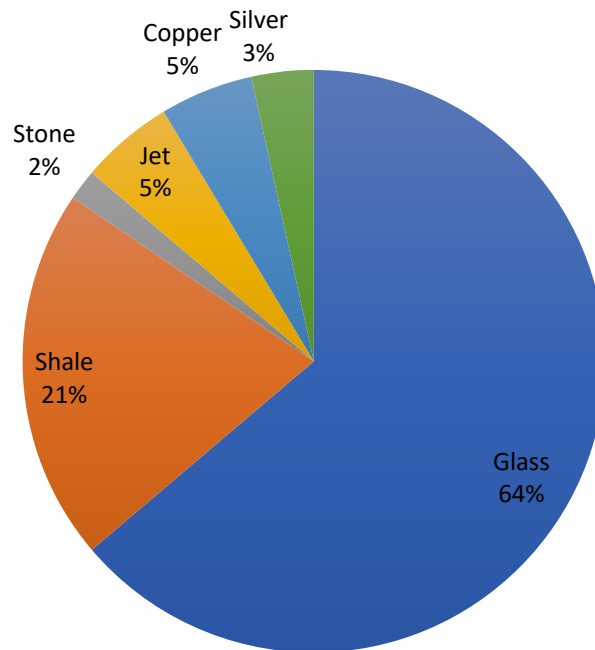
Supporting this analysis is the wealth associated with the artefacts discussed above. As shown in Graph 4.4 below, 92% of those artefacts associated with the presence of women in Building XIII are made of relatively inexpensive materials: glass, shale, stone, and copper. This is congruent with the wealth associated with prostitutes and servants in frontier regions (Rawson, 1974: 288).

¹⁶ Concubines are known to have been present within the extramural areas of the forts of Roman Britain (Breeze, 2013: 83; Jones, 2012).

Graph 4.3 - The Numbers of Artefacts Associated with the Presence of Women Found in the *Contubernia* of Barracks Blocks of the Different Periods of South Shields Fort.



Graph 4.4 - The Percentage of Artefacts Associated with the Presence of women made of different materials found in Building XIII.



4.2.3.4 Building XIV

Like Building XIII, Building XIV was an L-shaped barrack block of the standard Hadrianic style through the fort's first two phases (see Fig. 4.23). Also like Building XIII, the *contubernia* were transformed into chalet-type rooms in the third period lasting until the fort's abandonment. The building has been divided into 9 sections for the purpose of recording context numbers. Section 1 was the centurion's quarters and sections 2 to 9 are the *contubernia* (see Fig. 4.24).

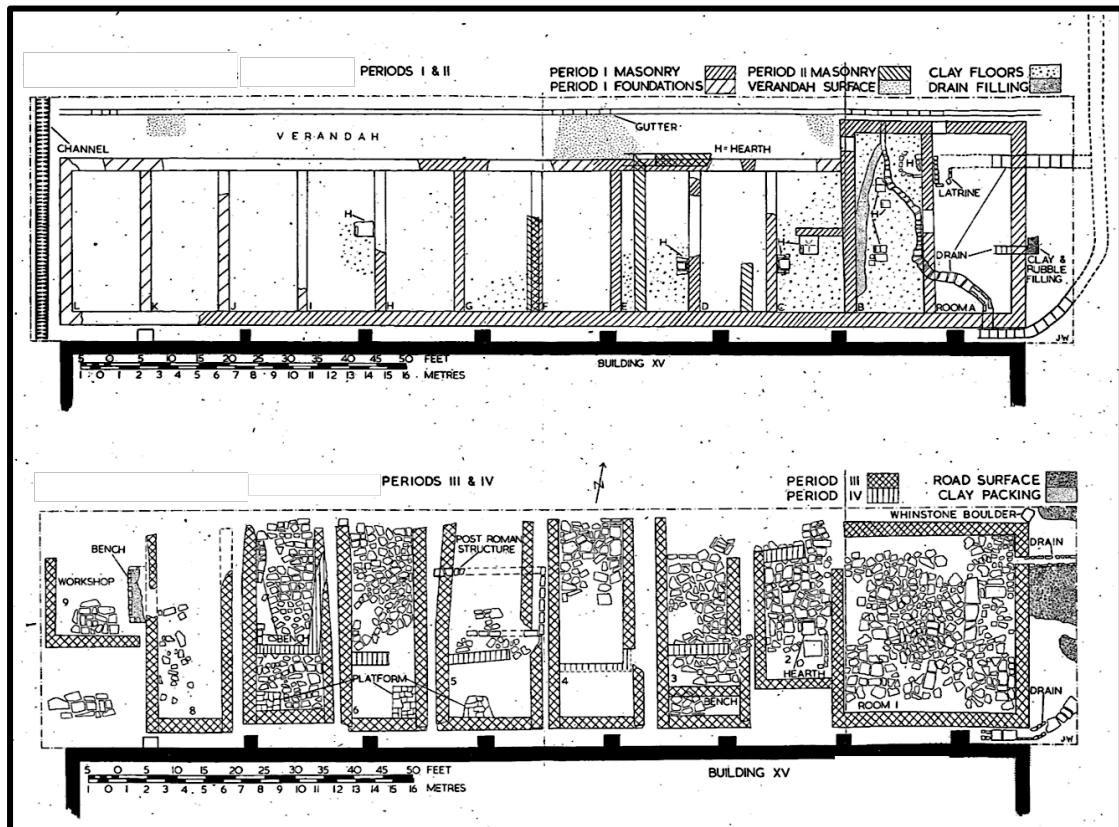


Figure 4.23 Two plans to show building XV in periods I, II, III, and IV within the Housesteads fort (Wilkes, 1961: 300, fig. no. unknown).

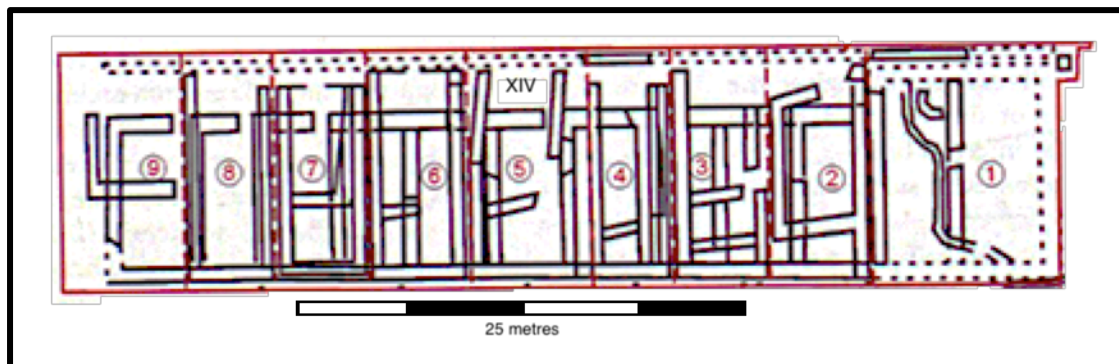


Figure 4.24 Plan of building XIV with each of the sections denoted by number circles and marked by the dashed black lines. The solid black lines correspond with the building's structural remains (adapted from Rushworth, 2009a: 16, fig. 1.11).

Building XIV was excavated in 1960 and from 1974 to 1981. The artefacts recorded from the 1960 excavation of Building XIV in the fort included a number of spindle whorls, five glass beads, and a jet segmented bead (Wilkes, 1961). The glass beads (H.123, H.124, H.125, H.127, and H.128) and the jet segmented bead (H.126) were unprovenanced, and hence the date to which they belong is unknown. One of the spindle whorls found was made of jet (H.121). The remainder of the spindle whorls, roughly a dozen (Wilkes, 1961: 296), were not recorded individually, but it is known that they were made of ceramic, coarse pottery, and mortaria (H.122). Similar to the jet bead, the spindle whorls are also unprovenanced.

If all the spindle whorls found had dated to the same period of Roman occupation, they could indicate the involvement of many women in spinning cloth within the barrack block Building XIV. As it is, the spindle whorls (H.121-122) were unprovenanced and hence cannot be used to suggest the presence of women through spinning cloth in a particular period (Wilkes, 1961).

Out of the 13 artefacts recovered from the 1974-81 excavations of Building XIV, six artefacts associated with the presence of women were uncovered (Rushworth, 2009a; 2009b: 430-483). Of the building's nine sections, three contained artefacts of female dress and personal adornment. However, all three artefacts were found outside dated stratigraphy in the topsoil. A pale turquoise glass armlet fragment (H.81) was found in section 1, an incomplete jet finger ring (H.90) was found in section 7, and a fragmentary jet bead (H.92) and 3 glass beads (H.27, H.47, and H.78) were found in section 9.

Not being dated to a period of Roman occupation, the usefulness of the artefacts found in Building XIV is limited. What can be speculated, however, is the likelihood of their original location of deposition being nearby. Hence, their owners must also have been present in the general area. Furthermore, although the structure transformed, like Building XIII, in period III to chalet structures, there is not enough information available from the artefacts found to suggest a cohabitation of women at any point within the Building.

4.2.3.5 *Area HSE*

The area excavated between Buildings XIII and XIV is known as 'HSE' (see Fig. 4.25). Out of the 28 artefacts recovered from this area (Rushworth, 2009b: 430-483), three are associated with the activities undertaken more exclusively by women: two ceramic spindle whorls of unknown date (H.86 and H.87), an incomplete rectangular slate palette dating to period IV (H.114), and artefacts associated with the dress and personal adornment of women have been found here – three are glass beads (H.66, H.67, and H.68), of which two are of unknown dates (H.66 and H.68) and one stratigraphically dating to period V (H.67).

Although the two spindle whorls (H.86 and H.87) are unprovenanced, they can be used to indicate the presence of the production of cloth in the area – perhaps in Buildings XIII and XIV as they may have originally been deposited there. Those artefacts of unknown date provide little information for the socio-spatial distribution of women at the site.

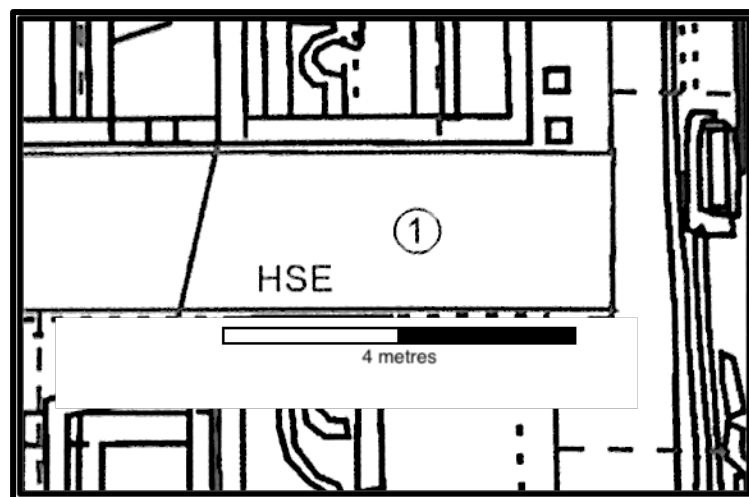


Figure 4.25 Plan of the section of the road between Building XIII to the north and Building XIV to the south excavated in the 1974-81 excavations of the north east quadrant (HSE) and the surrounding buildings and associated section divisions (adapted from Rushworth, 2009a: 16, fig. 1.11).

The incomplete shale palette (H.114) was used for cosmetic application within the fort during Period IV, and it is probable that the palette was accidentally deposited as a result of a woman passing between the two buildings as opposed to deposition during the application of cosmetics. The other artefact dated to a period of Roman occupation (Period V), a glass bead (H.67), indicates the possibility of at least one woman present between Buildings XIII and XIV during Period V. It is also possible that the owners of the palette and bead were servants or prostitutes making their way to or from Building XIII or XIV. With only two artefacts dated to periods of Roman occupation, one each in Periods IV and V, a limited female presence is shown in HSE during the entirety of the Roman occupation.

4.2.3.6 *Building XV*

Leach and Wilkes (1962: 91) identified Building XV as a storehouse, and excavations in 1961 (see Fig. 4.26) uncovered two artefacts associated with women - both used dress and personal adornment. They were an unprovenanced bronze wire twisted bracelet (H.129), and a flat round jet bead of 3rd and 4th century date with unknown exact find locations (Periods III and IV) (H.130). There are two holes through the width of the jet bead suggesting it could have been used on a bracelet (see Fig. 4.27). Together, they suggest women were present within this storehouse of the fort in Periods III or IV and were perhaps involved in the maintenance or distribution of items being stored. The number of finds suggest only a limited presence of women in Building XV.

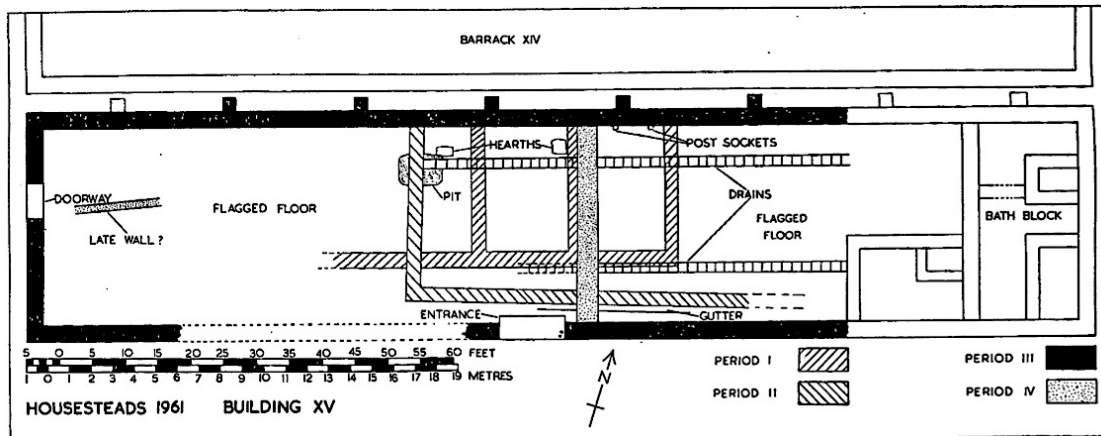


Figure 4.26 Plan of Building XV within the fort from the 1961 excavations (Leach and Wilkes, 1962: 83-96).

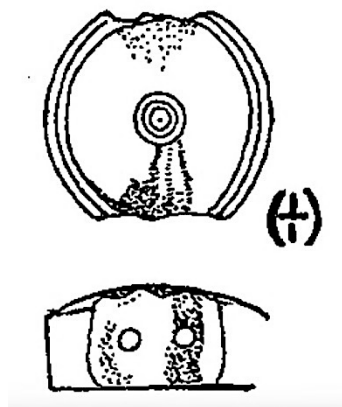


Figure 4.27 Sketch of a round flat jet bead with two pierced holes through the side and a bordered decoration on top (Leach and Wilkes, 1962: 93).

4.2.3.7 Area H20

Area H20, excavated in 1974-81, is comprised of the northern rampart and *intervallum* road in the north-east quadrant. The area has been divided into nine sections (1-9, see Fig. 4.28). During Period I the north rampart area was filled with material to form a rampart bank (Rushworth, 2009a: 37). In Period II most of the rampart bank was removed (except for a small area in section 9) and a bake house

and three workshops were built into in sections 3, 4, 6, and 7 respectively (Rushworth, 2009a: 53). In Period III the two remaining workshops in sections 6 and 7 were demolished and replaced with an interval tower (Rushworth, 2009a: 105). The bake house in section 3 was also replaced by a platform with the remaining space taken up by the reinstated northern rampart bank (Rushworth, 2009a: 107). In Period IV the northern rampart bank was then widened (Rushworth, 2009a: 136).

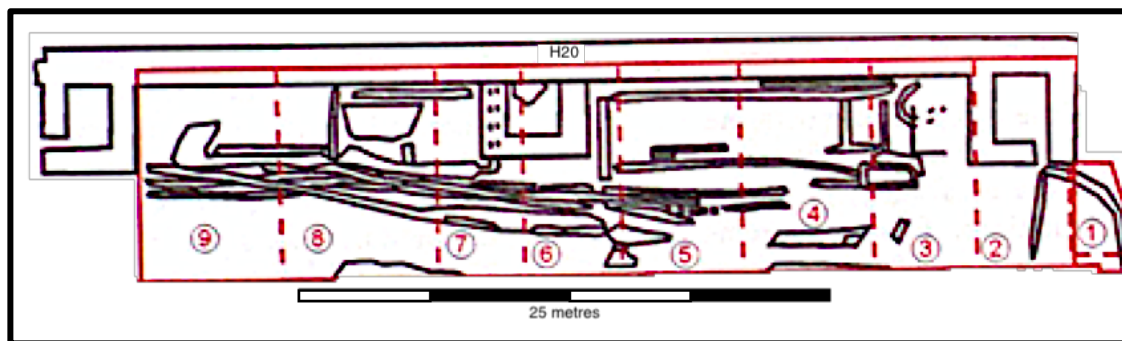


Figure 4.28 Plan of the northern rampart area of the north east quadrant of Housesteads fort (H20) with each section divided by dashed black lines and denoted by numbers in circles (adapted from Rushworth, 2009a: 16, fig. 1.11).

Of the 223 artefacts recovered from the 1974-81 excavations of Area H20, 28 are associated with the presence of women (Rushworth, 2009b: 430-483). Of these, 13 were found in the topsoil or without stratigraphic information and 15 date to a period of occupation (see Graph 4.5) from Periods II, III, and IV. All 15 dated artefacts found are related to the dress and personal adornment of women – beads, bracelets, and hairpins. Their distribution is exhibited in Figures 4.29-4.31.

Graph 4.5 - The Number of Artefacts Associated with the Presence of Women Found in the Northern Rampart Area of the North Eastern Quadrant of Housesteads Fort (H20) Through the 5 Periods of Occupation.

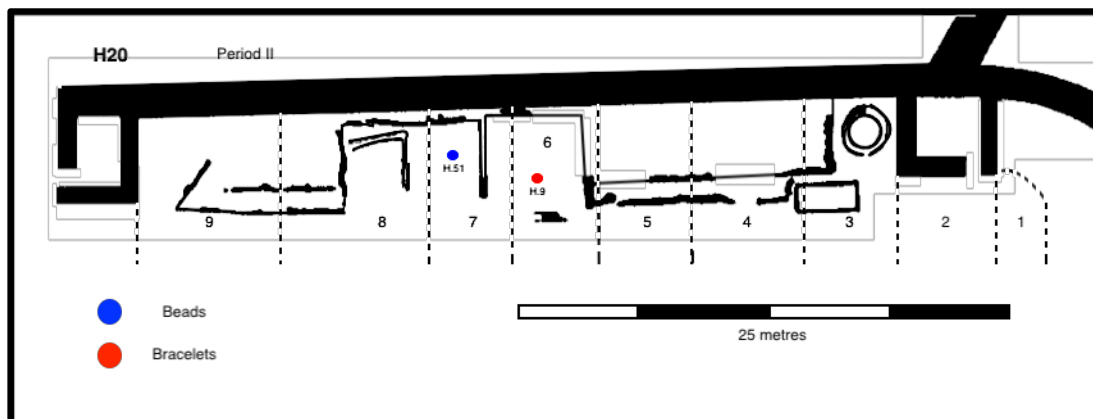
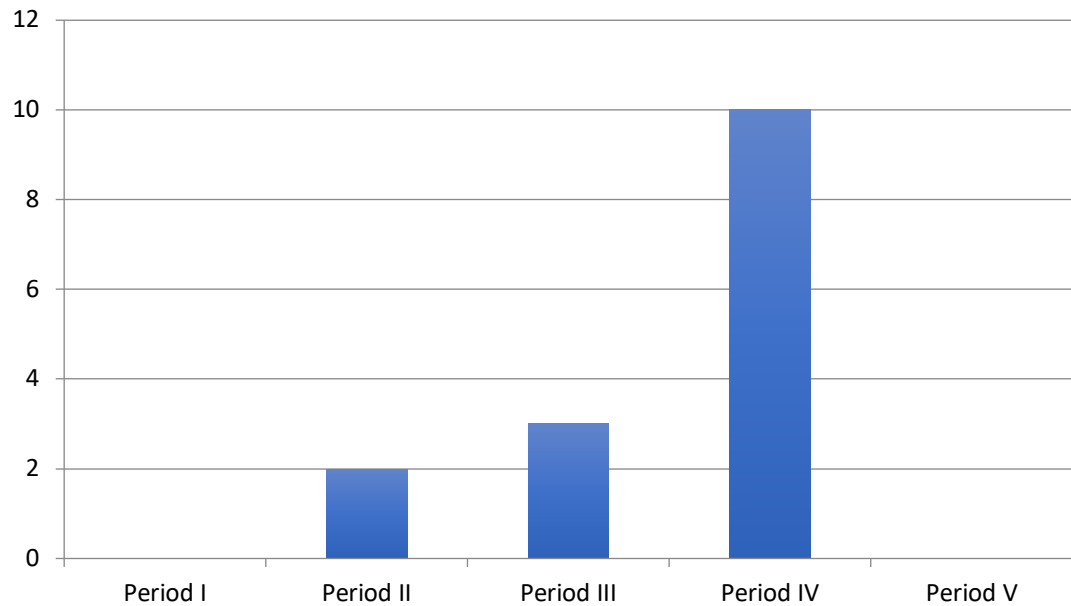


Figure 4.29 Plan of the Period II northern rampart area of the north east quadrant (area H20) with the distribution of the artefacts associated with the presence of women. The different sections of the area are denoted by the numbers and dashed lined. The numbers beginning with 'H.' correspond with the artefact catalogue (adapted from Rushworth, 2009a: 20, fig. 1.13).

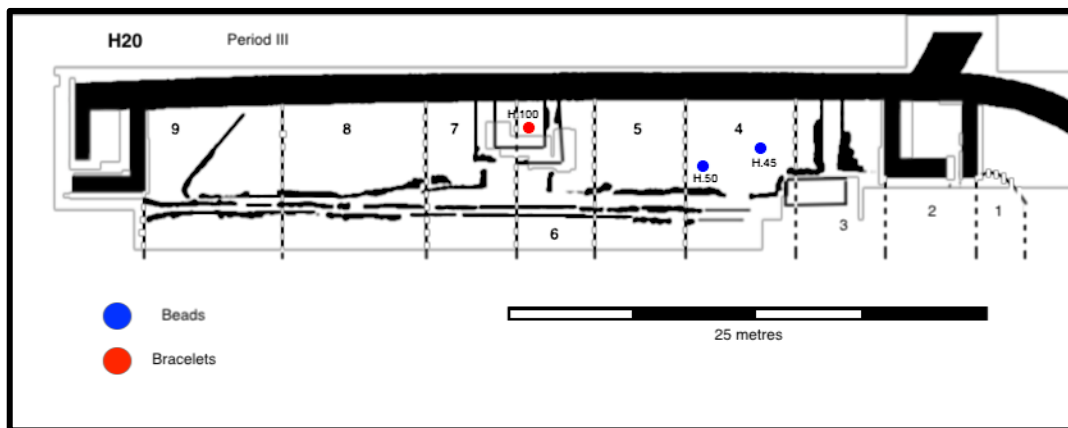


Figure 4.30 Plan of the Period III northern rampart area of the north east quadrant (area H20) with the distribution of the artefacts associated with the presence of women. The different sections of the area are denoted by the numbers and dashed lined. The numbers beginning with 'H.' correspond with the artefact catalogue (adapted from Rushworth, 2009a: 21, fig. 1.14).

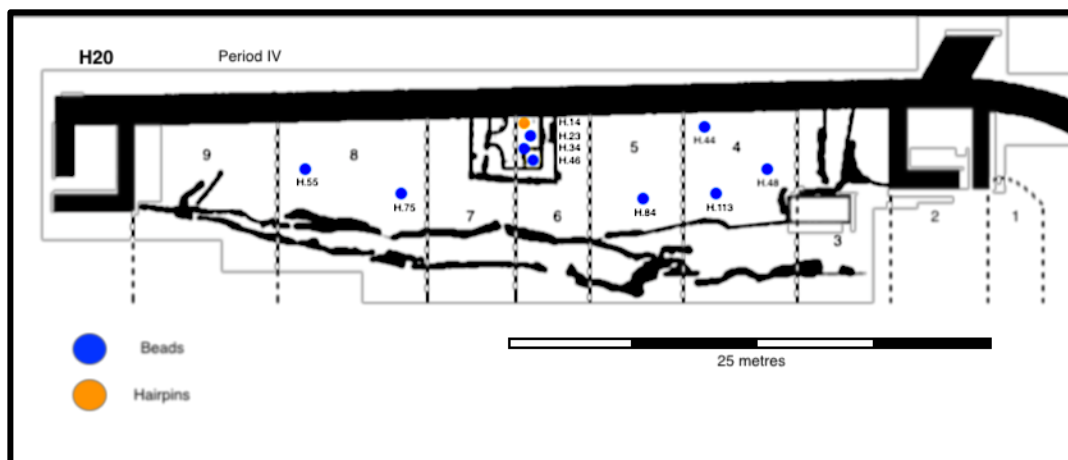


Figure 4.31 Plan of the Period IV northern rampart area of the north east quadrant (area H20) with the distribution of the artefacts associated with the presence of women. The different sections of the area are denoted by the numbers and dashed lined. The numbers beginning with 'H.' correspond with the artefact catalogue (adapted from Rushworth, 2009a: 22, fig. 1.15).

The presence of women in Period II is exhibited in two of the three workshops built into the northern rampart from a copper alloy bracelet (H.9) and glass bead (H.51) (see Fig. 4.29). This is in contrast to the presence of women in the excavated

workshop of Ellingen fort where no evidence for the presence of women has been found (Allison, 2006: 16). The suggests minimal female presence within the workshops of Area 20 at Housesteads indicates women were present only temporarily, possibly visiting as oppose to working there.

The artefacts found dating to Period III were two glass beads (H.50 and H.45) and a shale armlet fragment (H.100) (see Fig. 4.30). The glass beads were found on the newly extended rampart suggesting a minimal adult female presence on or near the rampart. The shale bracelet fragment (H.100) found in the interval tower suggests the presence of a woman in militarily important areas of the fort (Rushworth, 2009a: 108). Areas of more importance have arguably been the gatehouses and the central administrative buildings such as the *principium*, though at Housesteads the *principium* has not been excavated extensively enough to analyse the presence of women. In contrast, the *principia* of the legionary fortress of *Vetera* I has and shows a very limited presence of women (Allison, 2006: 11).

Dating to Period IV, 10 artefacts associated with the presence of women, all associated with their dress and personal adornment, were found in Area H20. Those artefacts from Area H20 are eight glass beads (H.23, H.34, H.44, H.46, H.48, H.55, H.75, and H.84), an amber bead (H.113), and a copper alloy hairpin shank (H.14) (see Fig. 4.31). The evidence for the presence of women in Area H20 increased by over three times from Period III (see Graph 4.5) and their distribution is more extensive than those of Period III (see Fig. 4.30 and 4.31).

During the time period to which the amber bead belongs, Period IV (AD 300-400), amber objects were being produced at Cologne and beyond the Empire's northern frontiers and from there traded into the Western Empire and therefore Britain (La Baume, 1968: 113; Tempelmann-Maczyńska, 1985: 23-25). This demand came from Romans identifying amber as a luxurious item known to sell higher than a living man because of its attractiveness and use as amulets to protect against and cure illnesses (Pliny, Nat. Hist. 37.12; Allason-Jones, 1999: 142). The high cost of amber is further demonstrated in the small number of amber artefacts found across Hadrian's Wall –

Vindolanda and South Shields being two other sites where amber artefacts have been found (Allason-Jones & Milet, 1984, section 1; Birley, 2010). This shows that assuming the same woman did not own all nine beads from period IV, women of varying socio-economic status may have been present.

From Period IV, three of the glass beads (H.23, H.34, and H.46) and the copper alloy hairpin shank (H.14) were uncovered in section 6 suggest a statistical continuation and increase in the presence of women in the interval tower from Period III. These materials of the artefacts found in the interval tower of Period IV suggest the women present were not particularly wealthy. The increase in evidence for the presence of women in the interval tower from Period III suggests that their presence within the tower was not completely restricted and became less so through time – an indication of a more relaxed stance adopted by the military garrison through the later periods towards sex segregation of the site. This increase in the number of women within the later periods of the fort is also exhibited in the fourth century fort of Vindolanda, which will be discussed in the following chapter.

The presence of women in similar defensive structures has been exhibited in Ellingen fort where artefacts associated with the presence of women have been found in the north western angle tower and the eastern guard chamber of the northern gateway (Allison, 2006: 16). This is similar to the artefacts found in the interval tower of H20 in Housesteads. This indicates that the presence of women within the defensive towers of the fort was a more common occurrence across the Roman Empire.

4.2.3.8 Area H21

Excavated in 1974-81, the eastern rampart and *intervallum* road of the fort's north east quadrant constitutes area H21 and is divided into five sections of approximately equal size (see Fig. 4.32). In Period I a bake house with oven was set into section 3 of the eastern rampart (Rushworth, 2009a: 38). During Period II the rampart was cleared with the bake house remaining in use and the construction of two metal

working workshops located immediately north and south of the bake house
(Rushworth, 2009a: 59-61).

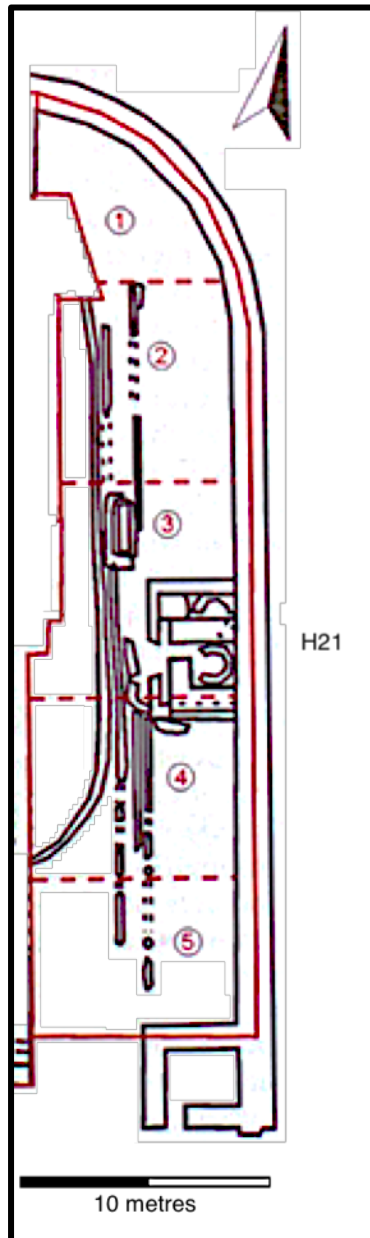


Figure 4.32

Plan of the eastern rampart area (H.21) of the north east quadrant of the fort with each of the sections denoted by number circles and marked by the dashed black lines. The solid black lines correspond with the Building's structural remains (adapted from Rushworth, 2009a: 16, fig. 1.11).

Like the modifications to the northern rampart of the north-east quadrant during Period III, the rampart bank was reinstated, and an interval tower was also inserted (Rushworth, 2009a: 109). The bake house of Periods I and II in section 3 was demolished to make way for the interval tower. A hearth was then inserted within

the interval tower after its construction. During Period IV the interval tower remained in use and the rampart bank was widened by approximately 0.8-0.9 metres, roughly the same as the widening of the northern rampart bank in Period IV (Rushworth, 2009a: 148).

Of the 126 artefacts recovered from the 1974-81 excavations of Area H21, 11 are associated with the presence of women, all of unknown date and all used in the dress and personal adornment of women (Rushworth, 2009b: 430-483). A glass bead (H.52), a copper alloy earring (H.5) and bracelet wire (H.10) were found in section 1. A bone hairpin end (H.19), a shale armlet fragment (H.101) and a glass bead (H.28) were found in section 2. Two fragments of a copper alloy bracelet with three twisted wires (H.11) along with a copper alloy globular pin head (H.15), a jet armlet bead (H.95), and a glass bead (H.20) were found in section 3 and a copper alloy bracelet was found in section 4.

With no artefacts used by this study from H21 specifically assignable to any period of Roman occupation, their usefulness is limited. However it seems reasonable to conclude that the artefacts found belong to that approximate area (H21) and come from a period of Roman occupation. Furthermore, without dated artefacts it is difficult to form a clear picture of why the women would have been there. It is probable that with the increase of the presence of women in H20 occurring through Periods III and IV, a similar pattern may have existed in H21. Unless the H21 was completely closed off to women, which is unlikely because of the presence of the *intervallum* road, it is likely that women would have used the *intervallum* road in the later periods of the fort – similar to what was exhibited in excavated rampart areas of the 4th century fort of Vindolanda (Blake, 2001; Birley and Blake, 2007).

4.2.4 Textual Evidence for the Presence of Women

There is some limited evidence for the presence of women through funerary inscriptions at Housesteads. Other Roman forts on Hadrian's Wall present greater and stronger epigraphic evidence. The cemetery of Great Chesters, the next fort on the Wall west of Housesteads, bears eight examples of women's names in epigraphic remains (Crow, 2004: 82). Vindolanda to the south of Housesteads is another with a larger catalogue of tombstones; 10 have been found (see V.1-10 in Artefact Catalogue). Nevertheless, six tombstones (H.3, H.16, H.133, H.135, H.139, H.145) dating to the Roman occupation of Housesteads have been found. Three of them commemorate males (H.135, H.133, H.16), two of which were soldiers of the First Cohort of Tungrians (H.133, H.135). One includes the names of a number of males and a female (H.139). One commemorates a woman (H.145) and another commemorates an individual of unknown sex (H.3). Tombstones H.139 and H.145 therefore represent the presence of women at Housesteads providing a different insight into the lives of women (two in particular) at the site compared to the artefacts analysed. This will be discussed in further detail below (see section 4.2.4.1 and 4.2.4.2).

4.2.4.1 Tombstone H.145

The preserved part of the funerary inscription of tombstone H.145 does not allow for a clear understanding of the chronology, but the text of the inscription leaves no doubt that this is a Roman tombstone. The remaining Latin inscription and English translation are as follows:

Au[...] | Meni[...] | filiae [...] | ni coni[ugi] | M(arcus) Aurel(ius) C[...] |
vicxit a[nnos] | XXXVII

To Au[...] Meni[...], daughter of ..., Marcus Aurelius C[...] (set this up)
to his wife: she lived 37 years.

(RIB 1621, see artefact catalogue H.145 description)

The tombstone's remaining inscription shows the commemorated woman's age to be at least 37, but the inscriptions fragmentary nature allows for a one-year discrepancy in the woman's age – either 37 or 38 (see Fig. 4.33). The top and right side of the tombstone is missing (see Fig. 4.33) and the occupations of the husband and wife were not included and hence remain unclear (Allason-Jones, 2013: 82). This therefore makes it difficult to establish whether they lived within the fort or the extramural settlement.



Figure 4.33 Drawing of the tombstone commemorating a woman aged 37 (H.145) (RIB 1621).

Cowey (2017a) dates H.145 to between AD 122 and AD 300 placing it to within the first two periods of the site's occupation (see EDH HD070793). The woman commemorated was therefore present at Housesteads during Period I or II at the time of her death and aged 37 or 38. The fragmentary nature of the inscription restricts any interpretation as to why she was there.

The height and width of the fragmented tombstone is 0.61m, and it is unlikely that the full tombstone's dimensions were much larger because the start and end of the inscription is present, although space would have been needed for a matching floral scroll on its right side (Collingwood, 1926: 96). Although the size of the tombstone correlates to the wealth of the individual, the mere existence of the tombstone implies a certain status, wealth and disposable income, which the woman and/or her husband possessed. Although the decoration of the floral scroll ascribes a greater cost to the tombstone than if it were lacking, when placing this tombstone into the broader context of Hadrian's Wall, there are some displaying far more wealth. For example, the tombstone of Regina from South Shields which obviously required a much higher expenditure due to its larger size and very intricate imagery (see Fig. 4.34; Carroll, 2012; Toynbee, 1996: 235). Hence, the modesty of this tombstone suggests a modest expenditure in commemorating the woman and perhaps modest wealth of the woman commemorated.



Figure 4.34 Image of Regina's tombstone from South Shields fort (Carroll, 2012: 283).

4.2.4.2 Tombstone H.139

The second tombstone commemorates five men and a woman named Pervinca (H.139). Although tombstone H.139 (see Fig. 4.35) is larger than tombstone H.145 (see Fig. 4.33) it is likely to have cost less than because of the floral scroll border on the latter. The dimensions of the tombstones remains are width: 0.762m and

height: 0.914m. Much of the inscription is still remaining with only a small portion missing from the centre and a slightly larger portion from the top (see Fig. 4.35). The remaining Latin inscription and its English translation are as follows:

[D(is)] M(anibus) | [...] | [...] ANL [.] MPR [.] E [.] | [...]enioni Venocari
(filio) | Grato Fersionis (filio) | Romulo Alimahi (filio) | Simili Daili
(filio) | Mansuetio Senicionis (filio) | Pervince Quartionis (filiae) |
heres procuravit Delfinus Rautionis (filius) ex G(ermania) S(uperiore).

To the spirits of the departed (and) to ... son of Venocarus, Gratus,
son of Fersio, Romulus, son of Alimahus, Similis, son of Dailus,
Mansuetius, son of Senicio, Pervinca, daughter of Quartio, their heir
Delfinus, son of Rautio, from Upper Germany, had this set up.

(RIB 1620, see artefact catalogue H.139 description; Bruce,
1875, no. 197)

Like H.145, Cowey (2017b) dates H.139 to between AD 122 and AD 300 (see EDH HD070792) with the lettering style placing it to within the AD 200 and AD 300 (Raybould, 1999: 95). Hence, those commemorated were likely at Housesteads during Period II. The name Pervinca was a common Roman provincial name (Woodcock, 2016: 34 -5), and coming from 'from upper Germany', Birley (1980: 110-111) has identified those commemorated in H.139 as Germans who have adopted Roman names. Soldiers upon enlisting in the Roman empire often adopted Latin names which, upon the granting of citizenship, could be passed onto family members (Mattingly, 2007). Hence, the individuals commemorated could have been part of or related to the military garrison *cuneus Frisorium* which occupied the site during the 3rd century (period II).



Figure 4.35 A line sketch of the tombstone including multiple male and one female name though to have been members of a burial club (H.139) (RIB 1620).

Allason-Jones (2008: 286) believes Pervinca was the wife of a member of a burial club comprised of a number of unrelated individuals subscribing to an annuity (probably a tontine¹⁷) in order to be able to afford their own commemorative tombstones when the time came. This suggests the individuals mentioned had the means to invest their money to maintain a guaranteed income.

¹⁷ A tontine is an annuity shared by subscribers to a loan or common fund, the shares increasing as subscribers die until the last survivor receives the whole income (Dictionary, n.d.).

Difficulty ensues in trying to identify what kind of burial club it was, for example, among slaves or soldiers. Burial clubs are known to have been popular amongst slaves (Todd, 2008: 286), an example of which comes from a tombstone from Halton Chesters of Hardalio set up by a 'guild of his fellow slaves' (see RIB 1436). Burial clubs among soldiers that also commemorated their members' wives are known to have existed. Examples are shown on tombstones from Cirencester (RIB 108) and Chester (RIB 492, 494, 496, and 1480). However, although burial clubs among soldiers did exist, the money withheld by the military for their funerals would have made such an arrangement unnecessary (Allason-Jones, 2008: 286). Therefore, as information about the kind of burial club is not included in the inscription, it would not be reasonable to assume a guild of slaves or a burial club of soldiers set up H.139. Instead, from the date of the tombstone (AD 200 to 300), Birley's (1980: 111) identification of the individuals commemorated as German, and Allason-Jones' (2008: 286) belief of it representing a group of unrelated individuals part of a tontine, Pervinca was likely a German connected in some way to the *cuneus Frisiorum* (possibly of familial relation) and part of a tontine.

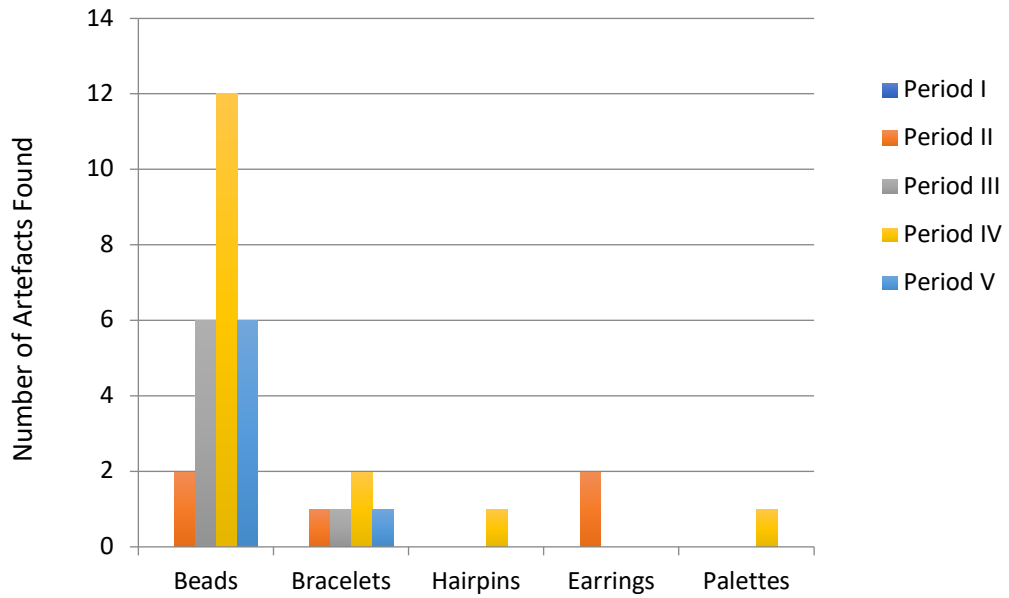
Similar to many tombstones found at Roman forts along Hadrian's Wall, the six from Housesteads were found away from an associated burial context. A collection of burial goods to accompany such tombstones would have provided a deeper insight into their identity through what they may have worn and what activities they may have completed. The lack of funerary imagery further limits the inferences that can be drawn about the identities of those being commemorated – such imagery may provide an insight into the appearance of the commemorated.

4.3 Summary

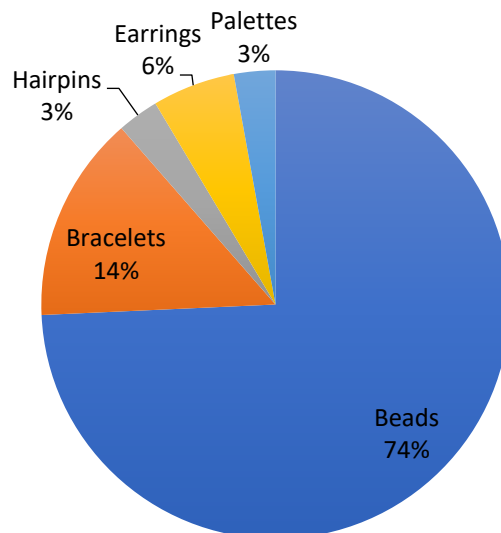
The limited evidence for the presence of women in the first and second extramural settlement of Housesteads restricts the analyses of the socio-spatial distribution of women outside the fort. Yet the tombstones H.139 and H.145 and the female skeletal remains in Building VIII of the second extramural settlement do provide unequivocal evidence for the presence of women at Housesteads and information about three particular women at Housesteads. The only area within the fort that provides enough information to analyse the socio-spatial distribution of women is in the north east quadrant excavated from 1974 to 1981.

The artefacts discussed in sections 4.5, 4.6 and 4.7 provide information for the distribution of women collectively. The majority of artefacts associated with the presence of women are those related to their dress and personal adornment. A summary of the types of artefacts associated with activities, dress and personal adornment is shown in Graphs 4.6 and 4.7. Multiple artefacts associated with activities such as the spinning of cloth or the mixing and application of cosmetics have been found at Housesteads. However, only an incomplete shale palette (H.114) can be dated to a period (Period V); all others are unprovenanced. Of the provenanced artefact data set, those associated with dress and personal adornment constitute 97% while those associated with activities constitute 3% (see Graph 4.7). The mixing and application of cosmetics, from which the 3% of artefacts associated with the presence of women belongs (see Graph 4.7), is suggested to have existed on a minimal level.

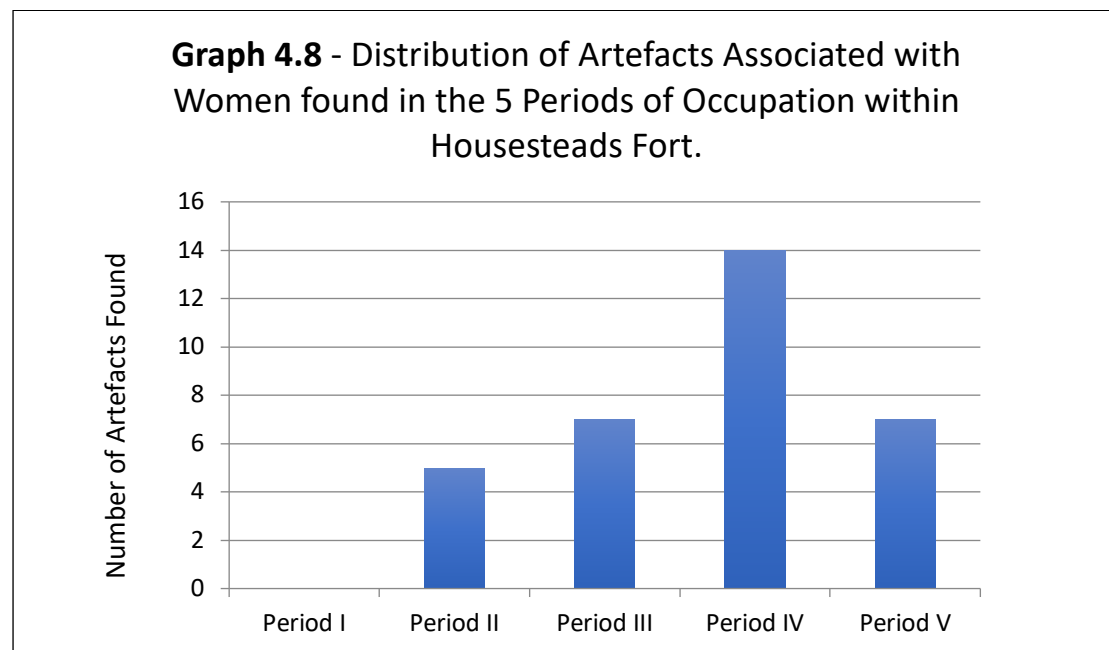
Graph 4.6 - Number of Different Artefact Types Associated with Women Found at Housesteads in the Five Different Occupation Periods.



Graph 4.7 - Percentages of Artefacts Associated with Women Dated to a Period of Occupation at Housesteads.



The different number of artefacts found within Housesteads fort in each Period is suggestive of a change in the presence of women in each period. The increase in the number of artefacts associated with women found in Period II, III, and IV (see Graph 4.8) can suggest an increasing number of women being present within the fort as the periods progressed.



It is unknown whether the drastic increase in the evidence for the presence of women from Period III to Period IV within the fort was affected by the abandonment of the second extramural settlement. Dates for the abandonment of the extramural settlement from numismatic evidence (Curteis, 1988), and knowledge of the socio-political climate of the Roman Empire at the end of the 3rd century AD (see Chapter 3) allow for such a consideration. The establishment of the Carausius and Allectus separatist regimes and the military threats to during the Tetrarchy (Todd, 2008: 398; Rushworth, 2009a: 298) are both likely to have required the relocation of troops from Housesteads to other areas consequently freeing up space for civilians to occupy the fort. Although the cohabitation of soldiers and civilians within the north eastern quadrant is shown not to have occurred as illustrated earlier (see section

4.2.3.3), it is possible that after the abandonment of the second extramural settlement, the civilians lived in areas of the fort not yet excavated.

During Period II a female presence is suggested in the Centurion's quarters of building XIII and within two of the three workshops in Area H20. With one artefact associated with the presence of women found in each of the workshops and two found in the Centurions' quarters, it is probable the women present were there on a temporary basis and perhaps as servants, or women visiting in a recreational capacity. As workshops within a Roman fort were typically androcentric, for example the excavated workshop at Ellingen fort (Allison, 2006: 16), this may signify a relaxing in the site's segregation. This supports Allison's (2013: 7) assertion that the segregation of provincial military sites was more extensive in the early imperial years (1st and 2nd century AD) than in the third, fourth and fifth centuries – Period II falls into the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD.

The presence and activities of a specific woman, Pervinca, date to between Periods II and III (AD 200 and AD 300). This is shown through the tombstone H.139. With a probable German origin (Birley, 1980: 111), Pervinca is likely to have been connected to the *cuneus Frisiorum* garrisoned at the site in the third century AD. Furthermore, as she likely belonged to a tontine between civilians of Housesteads, she was an active member of the Housesteads community during the third century with the forethought to invest her money to maintain a guaranteed income (Allason-Jones, 2008: 286). It is likely Pervinca did not live within the fort in Building XIII as there is not enough evidence to suggest the permanent presence of women in the fort during AD 200-300 (Period II and III).

During Period III, women remained present in the fort with evidence suggesting they were, like Period II, temporarily present within the Centurion's quarters of Building XIII as well as within *contubernia* 2, 5, and 6 of Building XIII. Furthermore, the presence of women within Area H20 is shown to have continued through a shale bracelet fragment (H.100) in the interval tower.

Evidence for the presence of women in Period IV comes from the Centurion's quarters and western veranda of building XIII (see Fig. 4.20), area HSE (see Fig. 4.25), across the rampart area and within the interval tower of area H20 (see Fig. 4.31), and from building VIII of the second extramural settlement. Fourteen artefacts suggest the presence of women within the fort in Period IV (see Graph 4.8) and within the second extramural settlement a female skeleton. The evidence for the presence of women in the interval tower increased from Period III suggesting that within the tower the demarcation of soldier and civilian became less important and more fluid through time (Mattingly, 2007: 170) – an indication of a more relaxed stance adopted by the military garrison through the later periods towards sex segregation of the site.

Regarding the female skeletal remains dating to Period IV found in Building VIII of the second extramural settlement, although little can be discerned about the cause of death, what can be inferred is that she was present within the second extramural settlement of Housesteads during a time when much of it was abandoned, and within a building that was once a tavern and likely no longer at the time of her internment. Hence, the female skeletal remains of Building VIII show women were still present within the partially abandoned extramural settlement of Housesteads.

During Period V women were present within the Centurion's quarters and *contubernia* rooms 2, 5, and 6 in building XIII. With only beads found in building XIII dating to Period V, little can be said about the roles the owners had. Without enough evidence to claim cohabitation between soldier and wife, concubines, or family, the women present in Building XIII of the fort were likely to have been there in a temporary capacity, perhaps as servants or prostitutes. This was probably the case for all women shown to be present in Building XIII.

In conclusion, regarding the socio-spatial distribution of women at Housesteads, the observations of this study highlight the presence of women in areas traditionally associated with military personnel, specifically, the interval tower of the rampart section of Area H20 during Period III and IV (see Fig. 4.30 and 4.31), and within the

barrack block Building XIII during Period II, III, IV, and V (see Fig. 4.18, 4.19, 4.20, and 4.21). Additionally, within buildings of a more militaristic nature, evidence for the presence of women in and around structures identified as having industrial functions has also been uncovered within the workshops set into the rampart section of Area H20) during Period II (see Fig. 4.29). Furthermore, the evidence at Housesteads suggests women were present in public areas of the fort – the road running between Building XIII and XIV (Area HSE) during Period IV, and the *intervallum* road of Area H20 during Period III and IV. Detail about the lives of those women is restricted by the data available, hence any further interpretation is limited.

The following chapter will present the data for the socio-spatial distribution of women at Vindolanda. The types of data used in the following chapter are artefactual, skeletal, epigraphical, and representational. The evidence for each evidence type will be analysed and discussed to provide a better understanding, than is already known about the socio-spatial distribution of women at the site.

5.1 Vindolanda Background

5.1.1 Introduction

The Roman fort of Vindolanda is in the south west of Northumberland, 2 miles south west of the fort of Housesteads, and just south of the Stanegate military road (see Fig. 5.1 and 5.2). Built in approximately AD 85 it is one of the few forts on the Stanegate Road that remained occupied after the construction of Hadrian's Wall, and was especially important because of its strategic value to the defence and supply of Roman military in the north, along with the access it granted to the valleys south of the site (Crow, 2004: 26). This geographical location maintained its importance sufficiently for a garrison to continue until roughly AD 400 (Birley, 2009: 148 & 150). Hence, the Roman military occupation of Vindolanda lasted approximately 315 years and it is the presence of women at the site during this period will be analysed in this chapter.

The surrounding area of Vindolanda was rich in natural resources perfect for military usage including iron, lead, coal, limestone, and sandstone (Birley, 1977: 17; Birley, 2009: 13; see Fig. 5.3). A minimum of 5 different forts have been identified at the site of Vindolanda (Birley, 2009). Unlike the fort of Housesteads, during the occupation of Vindolanda the fort changed its shape and size a number of times as a result of modification and reconstruction (see section 5.3). Hence, the presence of women within the five forts of the site will be analysed. The primary burial grounds of Vindolanda have been attributed to 'north of the Stanegate Road stretching from opposite the north-western corner of the fort for nearly half a mile westwards' (Birley, 1977: 67). However, the Vindolanda Trust does not own this land and there have been no excavations of it. Hence, there are no skeletal remains within the Vindolanda dataset, only artefacts, writing tablets, and tombstones.

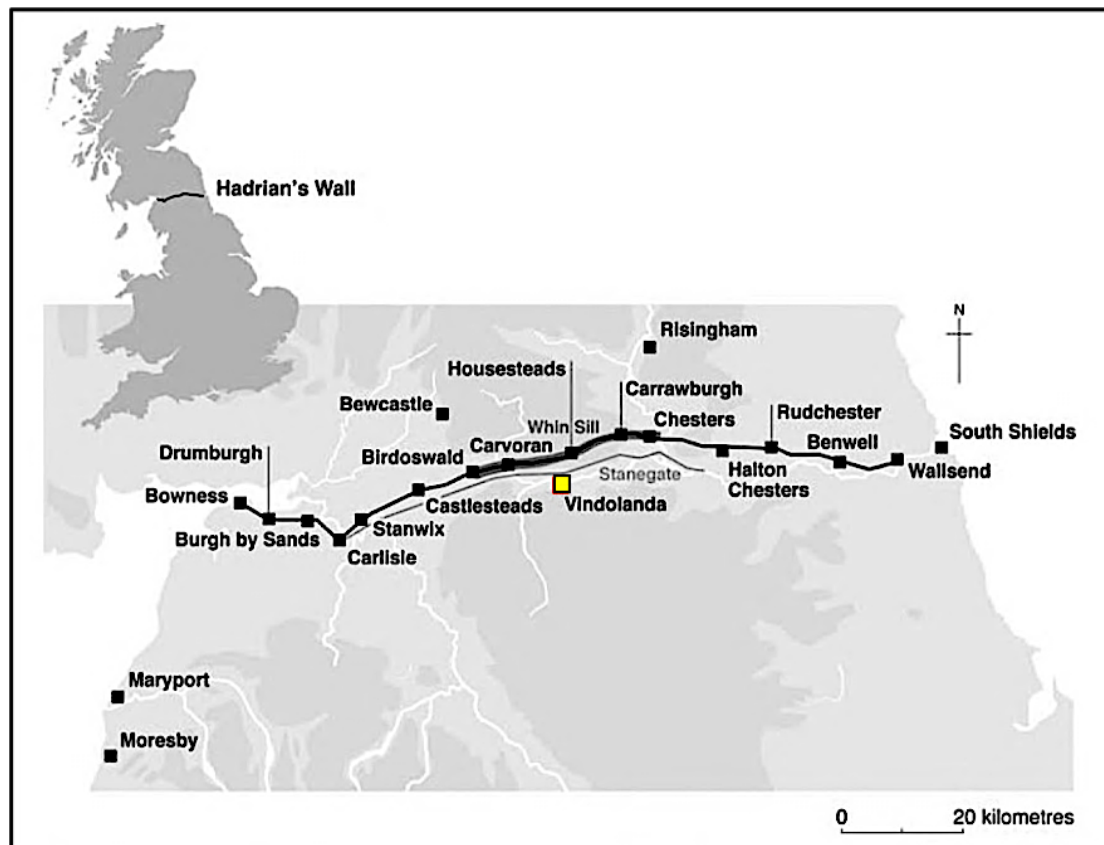


Figure 5.1 Map showing the locations of forts on Hadrian's Wall, outpost forts, the Stanegate Road, rivers, and the 'Clayton Wall' shown with a thick grey line. The location of Vindolanda is denoted by a black outlined yellow square (adapted from Hingley, 2012: 14).

This chapter will address the presence and roles of women at the site of Vindolanda during its Roman occupation. It will consist of an overview of the different excavations conducted at Vindolanda (section 5.2), an overview of the periods of the complex as well as its military occupation (sections 5.3 and 5.4), the presentation and analysis of the data associated with the presence of women at Vindolanda (sections 5.5 to 5.13), and a summary of what can be inferred for each period of occupation from the data (section 5.14).

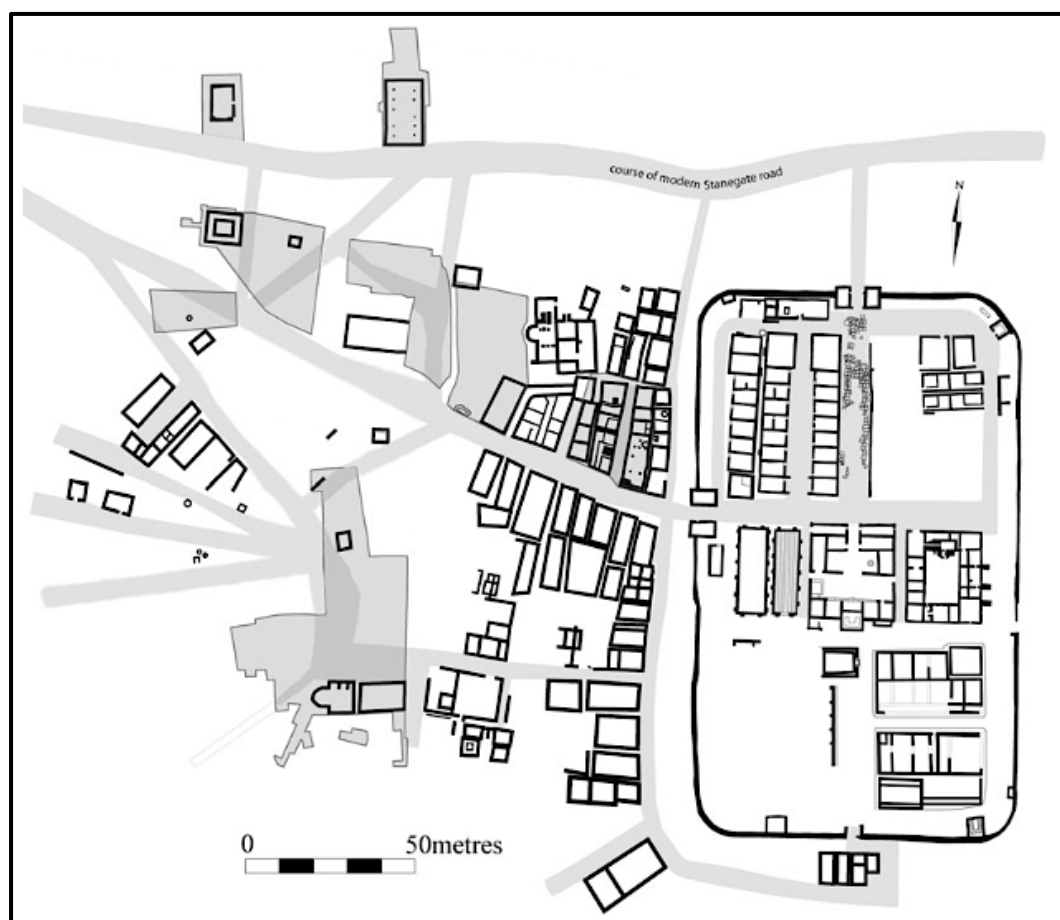


Figure 5.2 Plan of the 3rd century AD site of Vindolanda including fort and extramural structures (from Birley *et. al.*, 2016: 247).

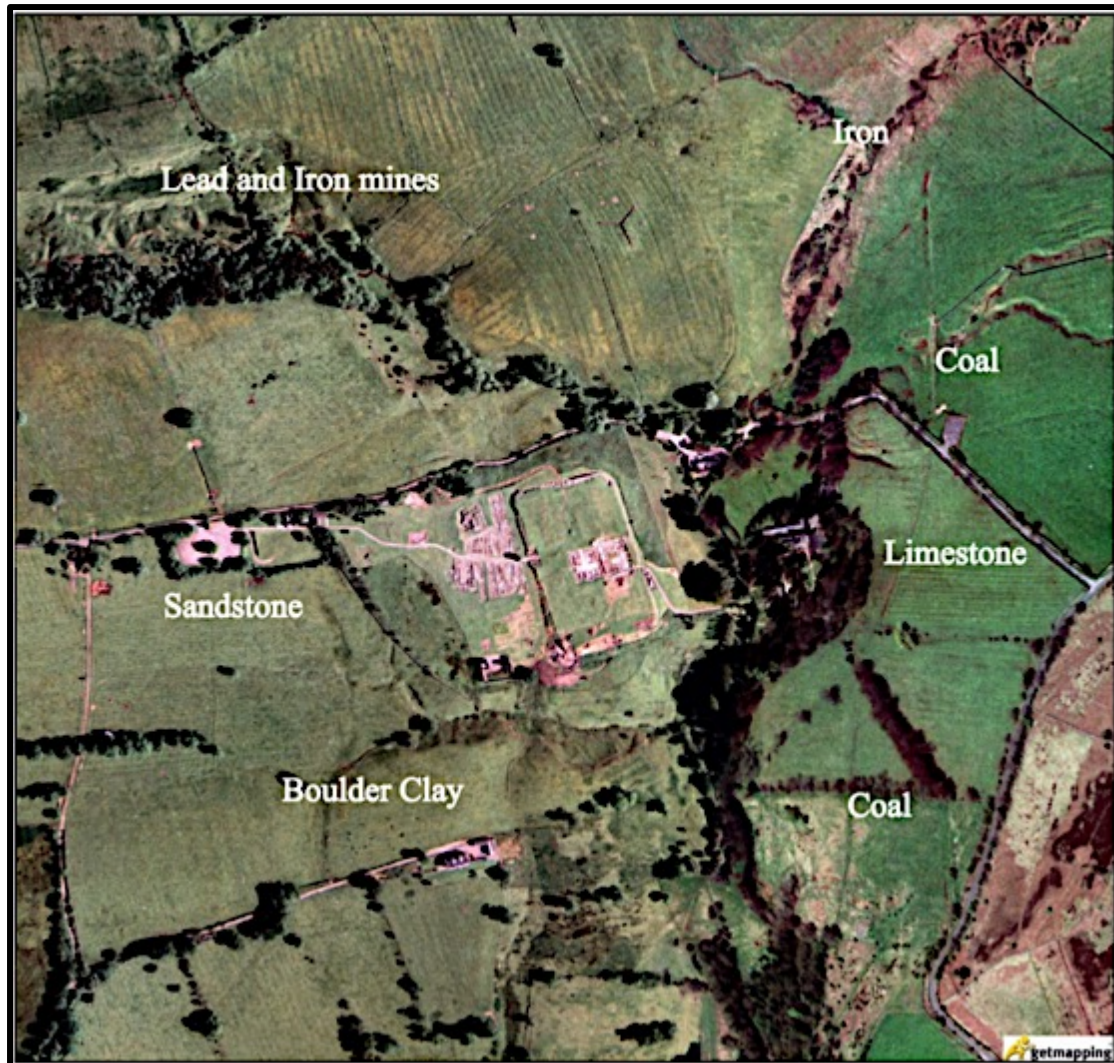


Figure 5.3 Satellite image of the surrounding environment of Vindolanda annotated with the mined natural resources, 2000 (Getmapping in Birley, 2010: 61).

5.1.2 History of Excavation and Fieldwork

The history of excavation and fieldwork of Vindolanda presented in the following sub sections (5.2.1 and 5.2.2) is not an exhaustive overview of all archaeological activity completed at the site. Instead, a selection of the archaeological activity completed at Vindolanda is considered and evaluated (see Chapter 1 section 2).

5.1.2.1 *Fort Excavations and Fieldwork*

From 1930 to 1931 E. Birley conducted excavations of the second stone fort and uncovered an unidentified building north of the East Gateway. During the same period, he also excavated the eastern, western and northern gateways of the second stone fort, previously excavated by Hedley in 1818 (Birley, 1931: 195 & 202; Blake, 2014: 15). A year later, in 1932, Birley excavated the north-west angle of the fort walls uncovering a platform 13 feet by 12 feet (Birley, 1932: 216-7), as well as the *principium* of the remaining stone fort (Birley *et al.*, 1936). Although the *principium* was excavated, the artefacts found were not fully recorded (Birley, 1934; Birley *et al.*, 1936: 219). No small finds applicable to this study were found in the excavations of the 1930s (see Birley, 1931: 182-212; Birley, 1932: 216-221; Birley, 1934: 127-137; Birley *et al.*, 1936: 218-257).

The *principium* was excavated further in 1969 by R. Birley at a time when the height of the water table impeded the amount of data uncovered (Birley, 1970: 106). In 1997 excavations of the stone fort's *praetorium* lasted for a year and were more extensive than the excavations of the *principium* in 1969 (Birley *et al.*, 2002; Birley *et al.*, 1999). In 2000, the south-western corner of the stone fort was excavated (Blake, 2001), and in 2005 and 2006 there were excavations of the southern guard tower of the western fort gate and western rampart (south of the western gate) of the remaining stone fort (Birley and Blake, 2007). Those excavations of the western rampart area, south of the western gate, have revealed extensive evidence for the presence of women in comparison to the excavation of the *principium* in 1969 (see Birley and Blake, 2007) - the more meticulous nature of the recordings in the 2005 and 2006 excavations likely contributed to this.

The two granaries of the remaining stone fort and the immediate area surrounding them were excavated in 2008 (Birley, 2013). A year later in 2009 excavations of the north west quadrant took place uncovering a barrack block and angle tower (Birley and Birley, 2010: 25). A temple was also found built into the rampart next to the fort's northern gate (Birley and Birley, 2010: 26). Most recently, the south eastern

quadrant was excavated between 2013 and 2017 (Collins, 2018: 342; Wilson, 2015: 293; 2016: 301; 2017: 329). Although the north west and south east quadrants have been excavated, the findings of those excavations have not yet been published and hence those areas will not be considered in this study.

5.1.2.2 *Extramural Settlement Excavations and Fieldwork*

Excavations of the extramural settlement of the second stone fort took place in 1914. The most significant find was the altar to Vulcan revealing the name of the site: 'Vindolanda' (RIB 1700; Blake, 2014: 16). Later in 1959, excavations in the field south of the remaining fort and extramural settlement uncovered a small number of buildings (Birley, 1962b: 97; Birley, 2010: 97). The next set of excavations in the extramural settlement occurred in 1967 lasting until 1969 (Birley, 1970: 97).

R. Birley excavated Buildings LXXIV, LXXV, LXXVII and LXXVI in the extramural settlement of Vindolanda from 1973 to 1976 (see Fig. 5.4; Birley, 1977: 31). These excavations uncovered two successive stone-built extramural settlements with different layouts. The first has been dated to roughly AD 130 and the second to roughly AD 213 onwards (Bidwell, 1985: 88; Birley, 1977: 31; Birley, 2009). With these excavations reaching a depth of six metres, remains of pre-Hadrianic timber structures were uncovered dating from AD 85 to AD 130 (Birley, 2009: 41; VRR I, 1994: 2). The first five Periods of Vindolanda were identified at this time. Also, the first of the hundreds of tablets of Vindolanda as well as many artefacts with contextual information were uncovered during 1973 (VRR I: 11). The uniqueness of the tablets has illuminated the microcosm of the Roman fort on a frontier region in a way never seen before in Britain – see sections 5.6 and 5.7.

Excavation of the extramural settlement resumed in 1985 and lasted until 1989. Its focus was on continuing excavation of the timber structures uncovered in the 1970 to 1976 excavations (see Fig. 5.4; VRR I: 11). The depth needed to reach the first five periods of Vindolanda's occupation, the constant wet conditions, and the presence

of the stone extramural settlement made further excavations during these Periods problematic (VRR I: 11). Hence, the pre-Hadrianic evidence for the presence of women used in this study comes from the excavations of 1970 to 1976 and 1985 to 1989. The number of artefacts recorded from the 1970 to 1976 and the 1985 to 1989 excavations of the extramural settlement make the earliest periods of the site very rich in archaeological evidence.

In 2000 excavations of the bath house (see Fig. 5.5) in the extramural settlement took place (Birley, 2001). Excavations of the extramural settlement continued in 2001 until 2002 with many of the previously excavated pre-Hadrianic structures being re-excavated (Birley, 2003). Later in the excavations of 2005 and 2006, extramural structures expanding the extent of the extramural settlement westwards were uncovered (Birley and Blake, 2007). These excavations were the most extensive of the site with hundreds of artefacts being recorded with contextual information.

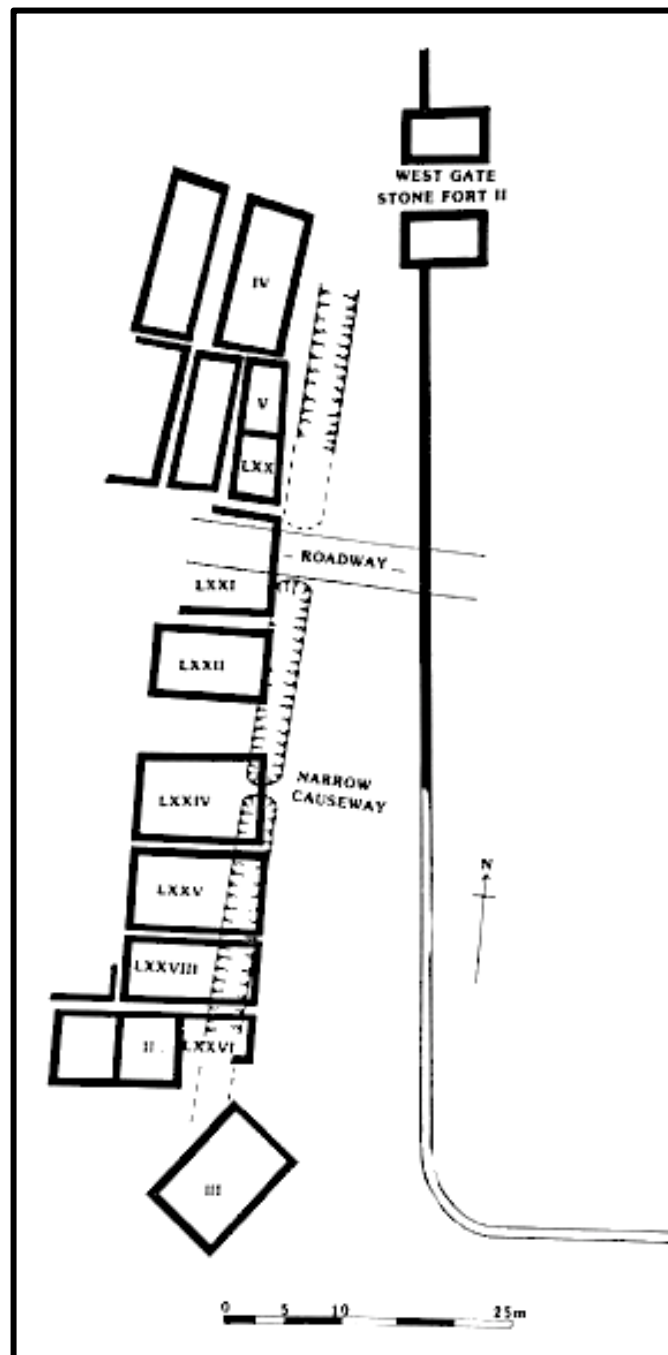


Figure 5.4 Plan to show the position of the trenches dug during the excavations of 1973 to 1976 passing through Buildings LXXII, LXXIV, LXXV, LXXVIII, LXXVI immediately west of the western wall of the Vindolanda fort (VRR I: 16).

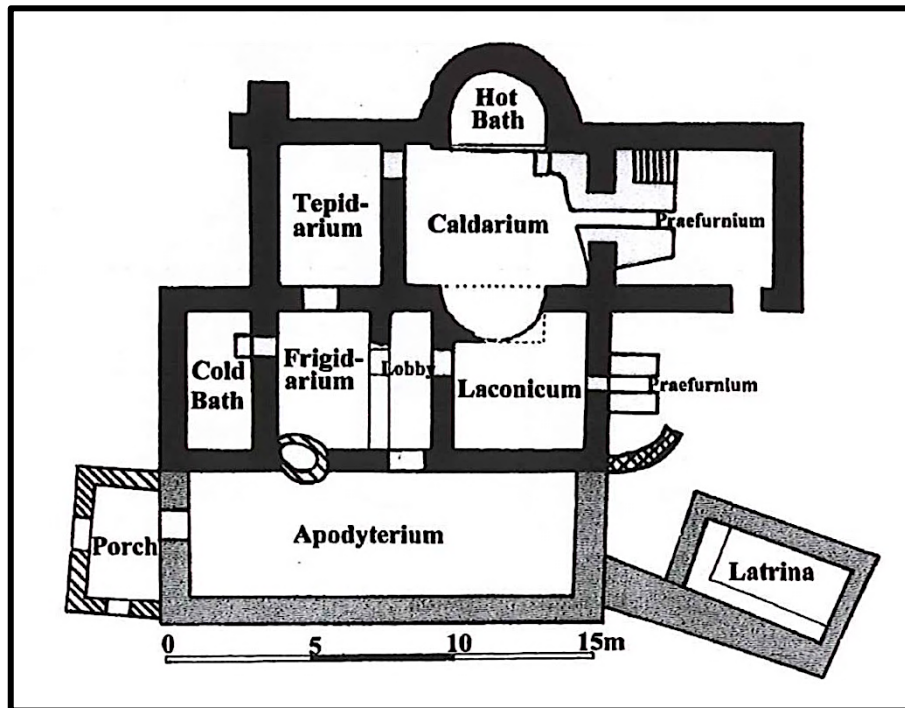


Figure 5.5 Plan of the Period VII Bathhouse situated in the northern part of the extramural settlement (Birley, 2001: vi).

5.1.3 The Periods and Garrisons of the Complex

The excavation and fieldwork conducted across the extramural settlement and fort of Vindolanda have revealed a minimum of nine periods of occupation with three wooden forts and two stone forts. The most accurate chronology, fort sizes, and military garrison identities of the site can be attributed to Robin Birley (2009) and are set out in Table 5.1 below.

Period I dates from roughly AD 85 to AD 92 and is associated with the occupation immediately after the fort's construction. At roughly 3 acres, the hypothesised shape and location of the first timber fort (period I) is shown in Figure 5.6. The site's first garrison responsible for its construction is attributed to the *c(o)ho(rtis) Tung(rorum)*, the First Tungrians, known through a tablet detailing the garrison's strength report

(Birley, 1994; Birley, 2002: 60; Bowman & Thomas, 1994; Cork et al, 1995: 19; Jones & Mattingly, 1990).

Table 5.1 –Dates, Sizes, and Garrisons of each of the Fort’s Periods of Vindolanda (adapted from Birley, 2009).			
Occupation Level	Dates	Size	Garrison
Period I (Timber Fort I)	c. AD 85 – 92	3 acres – 1.214 hectares	<i>Cohort I Tungrorum</i> (Tungrians)
Period II (Enlarged Timber Fort I)	c. AD 92 – 100	5 acres – 2.2 hectares	<i>Cohort I Tungrorum</i> (Tungrians), succeeded by <i>Cohort</i> <i>VIII Batavorum</i> (Batavians)
Period III (Renovated Timber fort I)	c. AD 100 - 105	5 acres – 2.2 hectares	<i>Cohort VIII</i> <i>Batavorum</i> (Batavians)
Period IV (Timber Fort II)	c. AD 105 - 120	8 acres – 3.24 hectares	<i>Cohort I Tungrorum</i> (Tungrians), Vardullian Cavalry detachment, Legionary soldiers of unknown Legion.
Period V (Timber Fort III)	c. AD 120 – 130 *Construction of Hadrian’s Wall	5 acres – 2.2 hectares	<i>Cohort I Tungrorum</i> (Tungrians)
Period VI (Stone Fort I)	c. AD 130 - 165	3.6 acres – 1.45 hectares	Possibly <i>Cohort II</i> <i>Nerviorum</i> (Nervians)
Period VIA (Modified Stone Fort I)	c. AD 165 - 205	4 acres – 1.17 hectares	Unknown
Period VIB (Modified Stone Fort I)	c. AD 205 - 212	1.5 acres – 0.61 hectares	Unknown
Period VII (Stone Fort II)	c. AD 213 – 300 *c. AD 270 - Extramural Settlement Abandonment	3.6 acres – 1.45 hectares	<i>Cohort IV Gallorum</i> (Gauls)
Period VIII (Modified Stone Fort II)	c. AD 300 - 370	3.6 acres – 1.45 hectares	<i>Cohort IV Gallorum</i> (Gauls)
Period IX (Modified Stone Fort II)	c. AD 370 - 400	3.6 acres – 1.45 hectares	Unknown

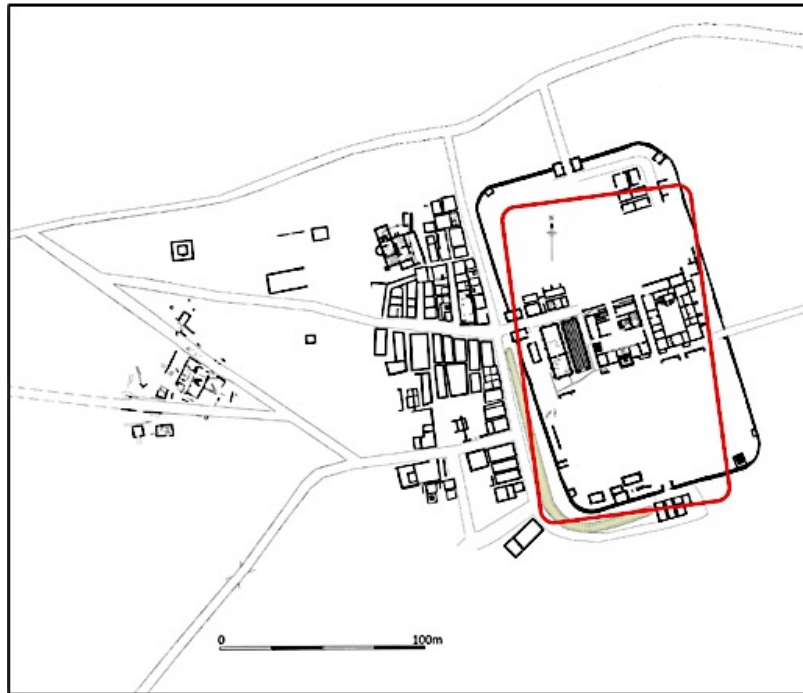


Figure 5.6 The position of the first timber fort (Period I – c. AD 85-92) in red, in relation to the remains of the Period VII, VIII and IX fort and second stone extramural settlement of Vindolanda in black (from Birley, 2010: 89, fig. 2.8).

The first timber fort was enlarged at the start of Period II (roughly AD 92) by almost 5 acres and remained occupied until the end of the Period (roughly AD 100) (see Fig. 5.7; see Bowman, 1994: 13-14). The first Timber fort remained the same size after Period II (roughly AD 92-100) and throughout Period III (roughly AD 100-105) with renovation taking place (see Fig. 5.7). At first, the Period II fort was occupied by the First Cohort of Tungrians who were then succeeded by the Ninth Cohort of Batavians¹⁸ who continued to occupy the fort until the end of Period III (Birley, 2009: 61 & 63). Since the Ninth cohort of Batavians were experienced in traversing rivers, it is likely that Trajan would have relocated them to take part in his renewed Dacian war in AD 105-6 at the end of Period III (VRR I, 1994: 4).

¹⁸ The Batavians or Batavi were a Germanic tribe situated around the Dutch Rhine delta of modern day, an area known as Batavia to the Romans (Lendering, 2011).

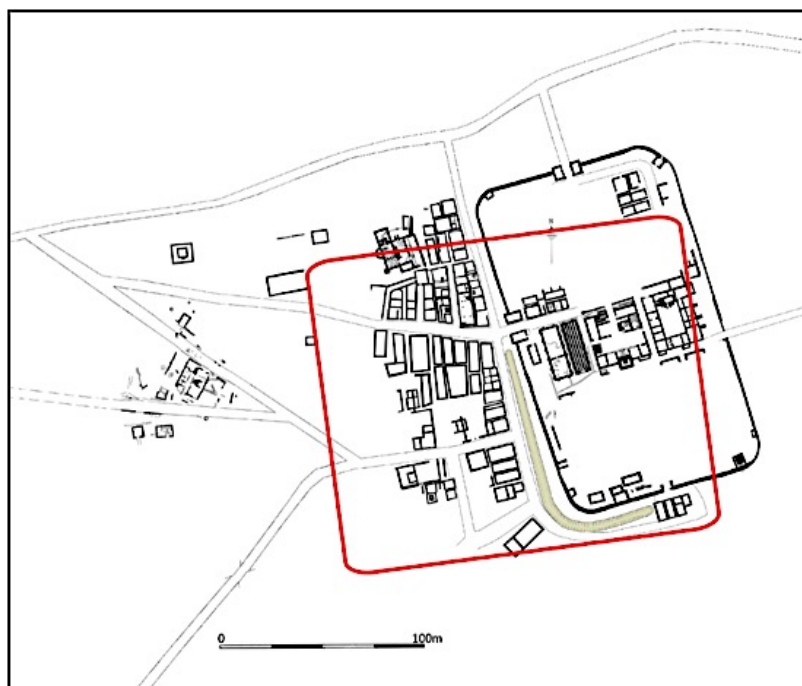


Figure 5.7 The position of the first timber fort (Period II and III – c. AD 92-105) in red, in relation to the remains of the Period VII, VIII and IX fort and second stone extramural settlement of Vindolanda in black (from Birley, 2010: 89, fig. 2.9).

The Period IV fort (roughly AD 105-120) was a reconstruction of the first timber fort making it the second timber fort of the site. It was extended westwards roughly 60 metres making it the site's largest fort at 8 acres (see Fig. 5.8). After the departure of the Ninth Cohort of Batavians at the end of Period III, the First Cohort of Tungrians (Birley, 2009: 91), a detachment of *Vardullian*¹⁹ cavalry (see Tablet 181, Birley, 2002: 72), and a number of legionary soldiers belonging to an unknown legion (see Tablet 180, Blake, 2014: 90) have been recorded as garrisoning the site during Period IV. With this Period's fort the largest in the site's history (8 acres), it was likely increased to accommodate soldiers preparing for the construction of Hadrian's Wall (Birley, 2009: 104).

¹⁹ Vardullian cavalry originated from a northern region of Spain (Birley, 2009: 54).

The third and last timber fort of the site was constructed in Period V (roughly AD 120-130) with a reduction of size from the second timber fort making it 5 acres (see Fig. 5.9). Little is known of the extramural settlements of the first three timber forts as only areas within the timber forts have been excavated.

The First Cohort of *Tungrians* occupied Vindonda in Period V. Epigraphic evidence from Housesteads indicates they moved from Vindolanda to Housesteads following completion of Housesteads fort, around AD 128 (Henig, 1996: 350). However, it is also likely that a contingency of the *Tungrians* was left to occupy Vindolanda for the remaining two years of Period V.



Figure 5.8 The position of the second timber fort (Period IV – c. AD 105-120) in red, in relation to the remains of the Period VII, VIII and IX fort and second stone extramural settlement of Vindolanda in black (from Birley, 2010: 90, fig. 2.10).

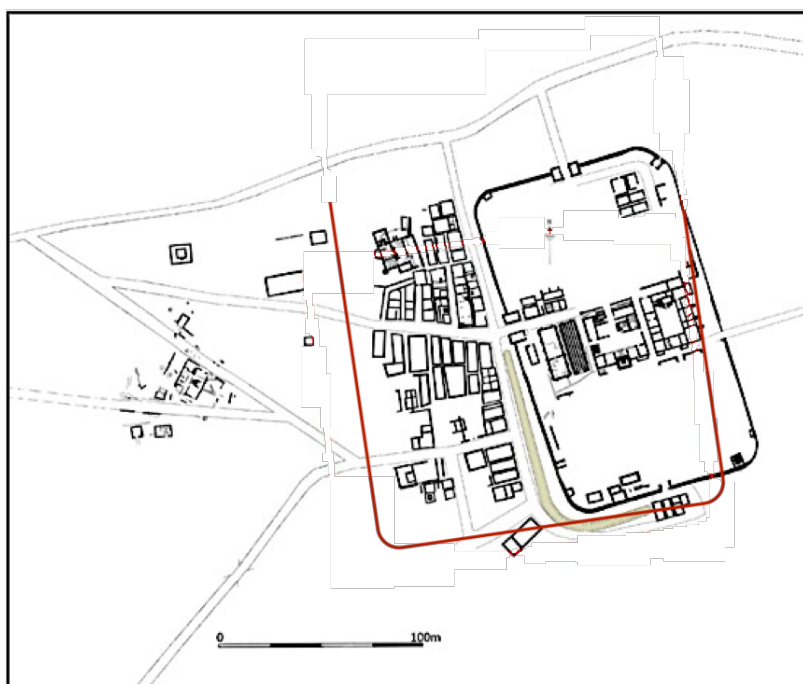


Figure 5.9 All that is known of the position of the third timber fort (Period V – c. AD 120-130) in red, in relation to the remains of the Period VII, VIII and IX fort and second stone extramural settlement of Vindolanda in black (adapted from Blake, 2014: 85).

The shorter periods of the site's first 80 years of occupation are a result of the lifespan of untreated timber structures - just over 10 years (Hanson, 1978: 293-305). This results in more temporary military garrisons than those of more permanent stone structures later. The first stone fort of the site was built to 3.6 acres and in Period VI during the reign of Antoninus Pius – Fig. 5.7 (see Table 1). Its location remained roughly the same throughout period VI and VIA (see Fig. 5.10). The first stone extramural settlement of Vindolanda belonged to Period VI (see Table 1).

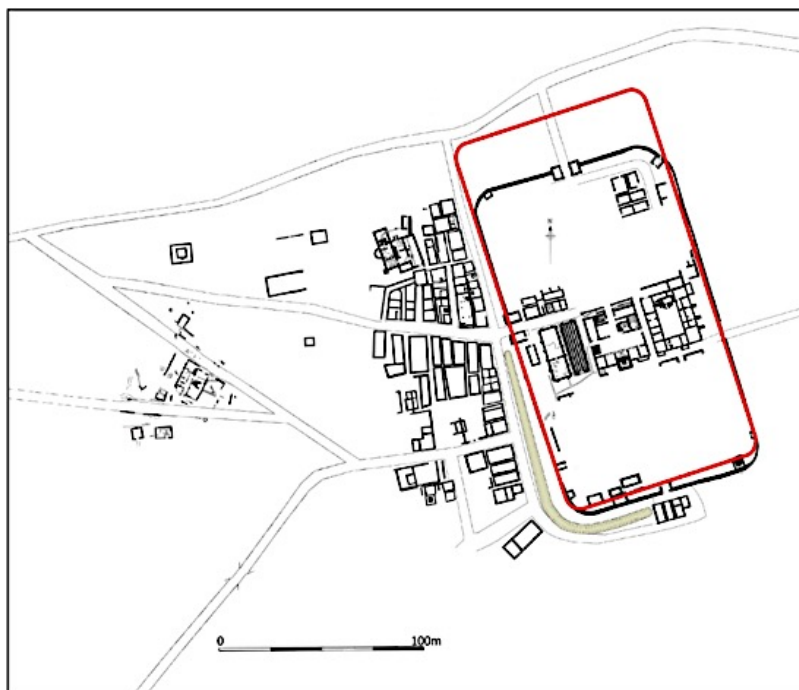


Figure 5.10 The position of the first stone fort (Period VI and VIA – c. AD 130-205) in red, in relation to the remains of the Period VII, VIII and IX fort and second stone extramural settlement of Vindolanda in black (Birley, 2010: 90, fig.2.11).

The reduction in fort size from 5 acres in Period V to 3.6 acres in Period VI is likely a direct result of the relocation of the frontier. The northern frontier was moved from the Hadrian's Wall roughly 4 miles north to the Antonine Wall roughly 110 miles north (see Fig. 5.1). Epigraphic evidence discovered by Eric Birley in the 1930s suggests the Second Cohort of Nervians²⁰ were garrisoned at Vindolanda during Period VI (RIB 1683). The importance of the site of Vindolanda was still apparent as indicated by the site's intended longevity through the construction of a stone fort in Period VI. Period VIB falls into the reign of Septimus Severus when the frontier was re-established. The smallest fort recorded at Vindolanda belongs to Period VIB taking up an area of only 1.5 acres (see Fig. 5.11; see Table 1). The garrison of Period VIB is unknown.

²⁰ The Nervians were part of the Nervii tribe in the northern most regions of Gaul with the territory corresponding with much of modern-day Brussels and between the border of Belgium and France (Dunlap, 1931; Goodrum, 2013; Maclean, 2015).

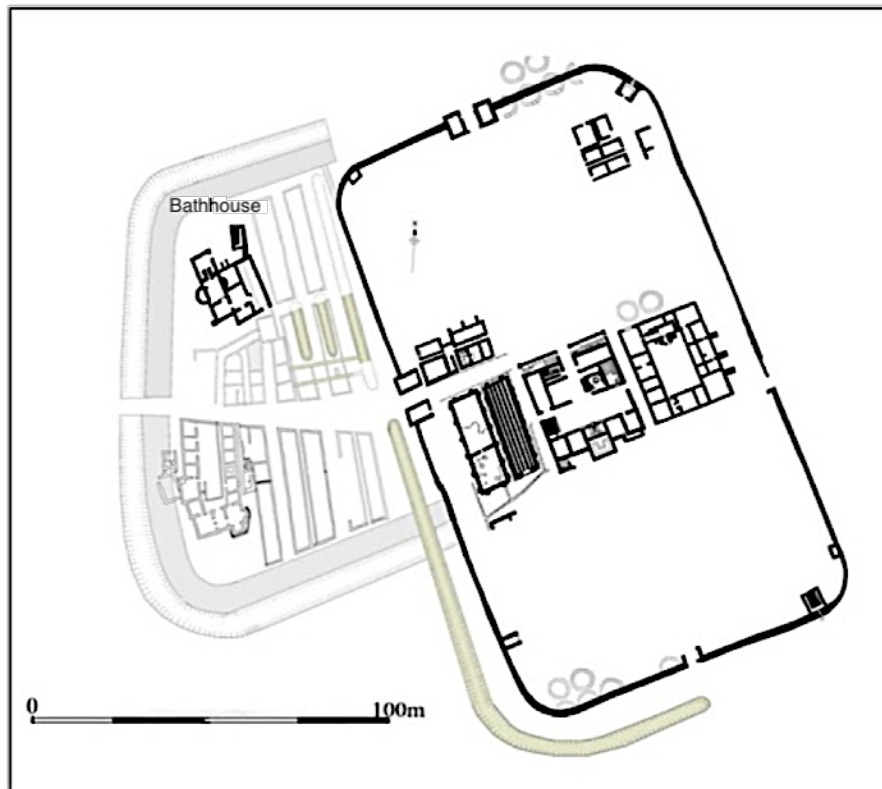


Figure 5.11 Plan of the first stone fort during period VIB fort (c. AD 205-212) and roundhouses remains (in grey) in relation to the remains of the Period VII, VIII and IX fort and Bathhouse of the second stone extramural settlement of Vindolanda in black (Birley, 2010: 93, fig. 2.14).

The second stone fort of Vindolanda begins with period VII (see Fig. 5.12) and was built in roughly AD 213 above the roundhouses of Period VIB after a short phase of abandonment in roughly AD 212 (Birley, 2009: 143). An inscription (RIB 1708) confirms the garrison of Period VII was the Fourth Cohort of Gauls²¹. The second stone extramural settlement was built at the same time as the Period VII fort. Some of the extramural structures were renovated and converted rather than completely demolished, for example, the Bathhouse (see Fig. 5.8; Blake, 2014).

²¹ Further evidence of the presence of the Fourth Cohort of Gauls comes from the inscription: CIVES GALLI DE GALLIA CONCO[R]DESQVE BRITANNI. It is translated as a dedication by Gaul born soldiers to the personified goddess of Gaul found on a pedestal of a statue (Birley, 2009: 145).

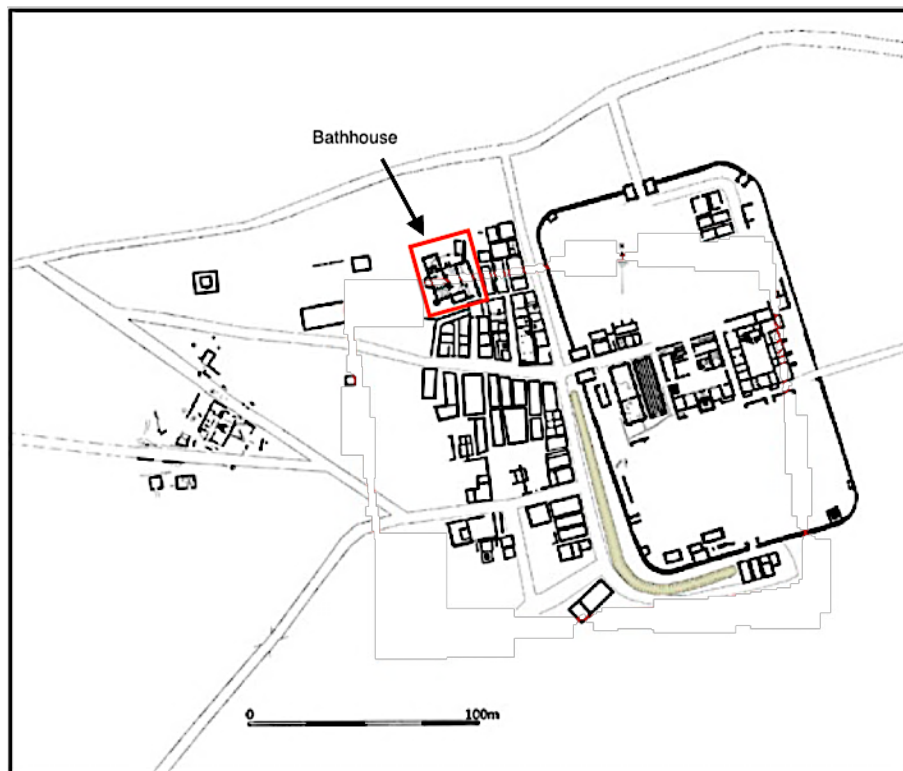


Figure 5.12 Plan of the second stone fort and extramural settlement (Period VII, VIII and IX – c. AD213-400) of Vindolanda (adapted from Birley, 2010: 93, fig. 2.15).

Numismatic evidence suggests the second and last stone extramural settlement of Vindolanda was abandoned in approximately AD 270 making the length of its occupation roughly 60 years (Bidwell, 1985: 88). This is roughly contemporaneous to the abandonment of the second extramural settlement of Housesteads which took place in approximately AD 280 (Allason-Jones, 2013: 71; Curteis: 1988: 117). The fort of Period VII, however, remained in use throughout Periods VIII (c. AD 300-370) and IX (c. AD 370-400) staying the same size and shape (see Fig. 5.12; see Table 1). The end of the Period IX signifies the complete Roman abandonment of Vindolanda (Birley, 2009: 148 & 150). Like Period VIA and VIB, the garrisons of Periods VIII and IX are unknown.

Having discussed the Periods and garrisons of the complex, the analysis will now focus on the evidence for the presence of women at the site during those Periods

(section 5.2.1-5.2.5), as well as the evidence for the presence of women from funerary inscriptions (section 5.2.6).

5.2 Presence of Women at Vindolanda

Due to the nature of Vindolanda's history, the presentation of data within this chapter will be determined by the fort which it was derived: First Timber Fort (section 5.2.1), Second Timber Fort (section 5.2.2), Third Timber Fort (section 5.2.3), First Stone Fort (section 5.2.4), and Second Stone Fort (section 5.2.5). Within these sections, the presentation of data will be subdivided according to the Period of belonging: Period II (section 5.2.1.1), III (section 5.2.1.2), IV (section 5.2.2), V (section 5.2.3), VI (section 5.2.4.1), VIB (section 5.2.4.2), VII, (section 5.2.5.1), and VIII and IX (section 5.2.5.2). Analysis of the funerary inscriptions associated with the presence of women will conclude this sub-section (section 5.2.6).

5.2.1 First Timber Fort (c. AD 85-105)

5.2.1.1 Period II (c. AD 92 – 100)

Evidence for the presence of women from Period II originates from the first timber fort and from the 1973-1976 and 1986-89 excavations beneath buildings LXXIV, LXXV, LXXVII and LXXVI of the later 3rd century extramural settlement (see Fig. 5.4 & 5.13). A structure identified as a *praetorium* was uncovered in this area (see Fig. 5.13; VRR I: 41). Out of the 801 artefacts uncovered in this *praetorium*, two can be associated with the presence of women: a bone bead (V.21) and a mirror fragment (V.24) (VRR I: 42-51). Their find locations are shown in Figure 5.14 suggesting the presence of women in two rooms/areas of the *praetorium*.

The scarcity of evidence limits what can be said about the women present in the Period II *praetorium*. Yet the mirror fragment (V.24) suggests the application of

cosmetics was taking place within the *praetorium*. The low cost of ingredients used for cosmetics (Olson, 2009: 291-292) made them accessible to individuals of low socio-economic status (such as servants or slaves), as well as those of higher socio-economic status (such as members of the Commanding Officer's family). Hence, the precise owner of the mirror fragment is of uncertain or ambiguous social status, but is likely a woman (see Chapter 2.4.1.2). The same can be said for the bone bead (V.21).

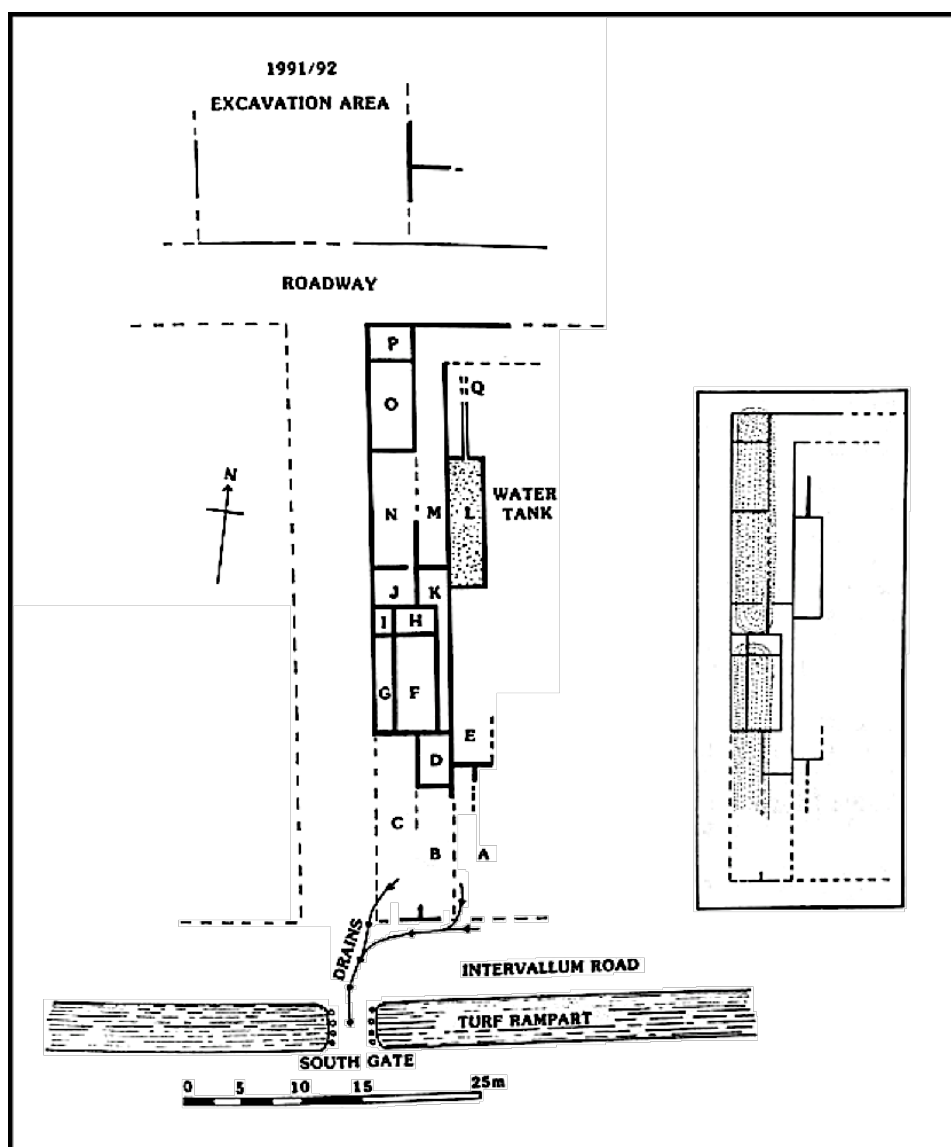


Figure 5.13 Period II fort *praetorium* and south gateway with its position highlighted above the period I excavation ditch (from VRR I: 41, fig. 19).

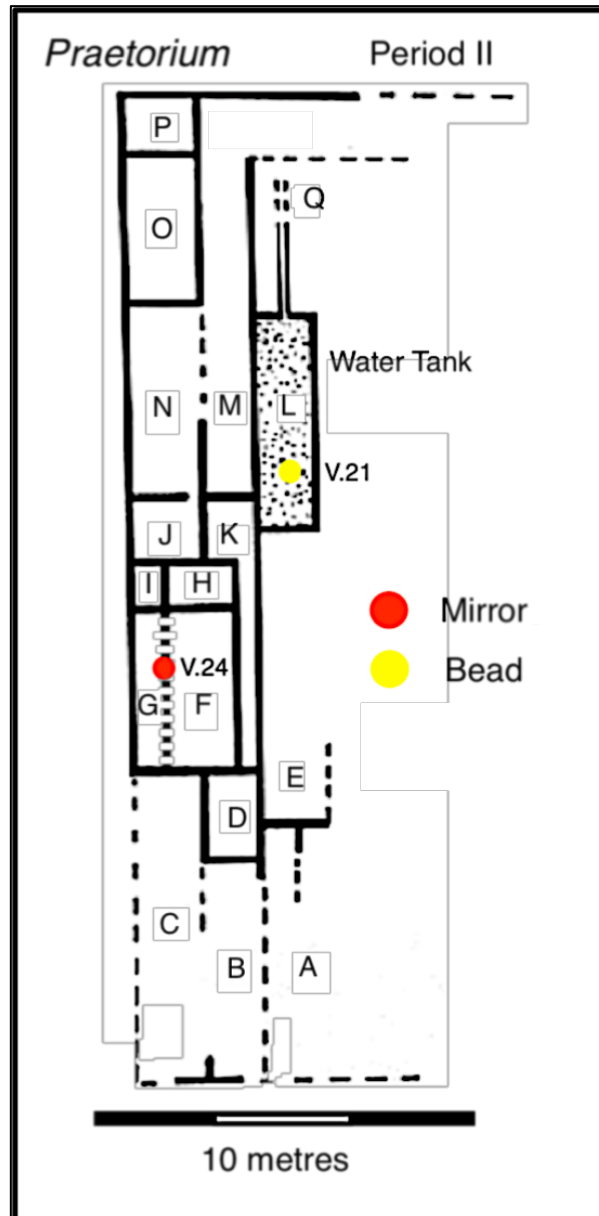


Figure 5.14 The *praetorium* and its rooms and areas (denoted by single letters) of the period II Vindolanda fort with the artefact type, location, and catalogue number plotted. The artefacts are those that are associated with the presence of women (adapted from VRR I: 41, fig. 19).

Knowing that the Commanding Officer's family and household slaves often accompanied him on his postings (Bowman, 1994: 57; Hassall, 1999: 35), it is unsurprising to find evidence for the presence of women within the *praetorium*. However, even these two mean we cannot overlook their presence in fort life.

5.2.1.2 Period III (c. AD 100-105)

Evidence for the presence of women dating to Period III within the first timber fort originates from the same place as Period II - from the 1973-1976 and 1986-89 excavations beneath buildings LXXIV, LXXV, LXXVII and LXXVI of the site's extramural settlement (Birley, 1977: 31). Like Period II, the evidence used in this study dating to Period III was uncovered in a structure identified as a *praetorium* (see Fig. 5.15; VRR I: 57). The *praetorium* of period III was a reconstruction of the Period II *praetorium* indicated through the different structural layouts of the two (see Fig. 5.13 and 5.15). The evidence for the presence of women from this Period is divided into two sub sections: (5.6.1) Tablets, and (5.6.2) Artefacts.

5.2.1.2.1 *Tablets*

The majority of the writing tablets found at Vindolanda date to Period III from the archives of Flavius Cerialis in room IV of the *praetorium* (see Fig. 5.15; Bowman, 1983: 27; Evers, 2011: 3). Flavius Cerialis has been identified as the commanding officer of the Eighth Cohort of Batavians at Vindolanda during Period III (see Tablet no. 23 in Bowman & Thomas, 1983: 111,), and three tablets show the presence of women in Period III and are the correspondence of one woman, Lepidina (Birley, 2009: 72), his wife (Bowman, 1994: 17).

A correspondent of Lepidina was a woman called Claudia Severa. Two letters have been uncovered addressed to Lepidina from Severa (Tablet 1 – see Fig. 5.16, and 2 – see Fig. 5.17). Their English translations are below.

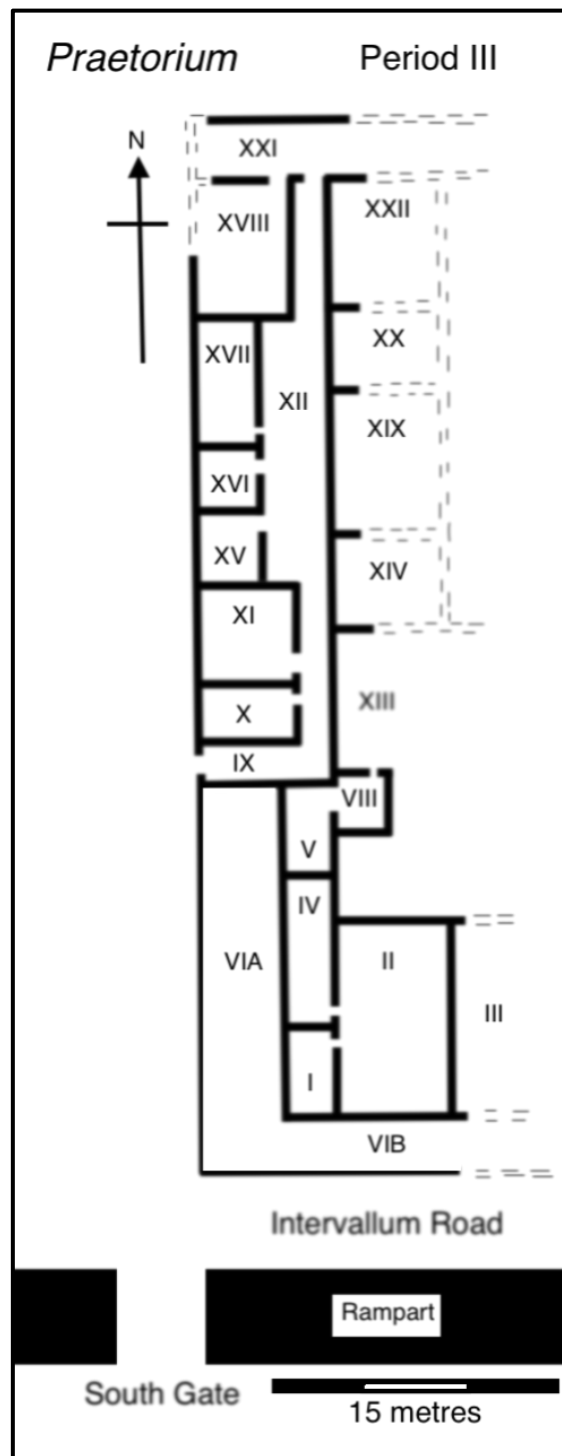


Figure 5.15 The *praetorium* and southern gateway of the period III fort of Vindolanda (adapted from VRR I: 64, fig. 22).

Tablet 1

'... Greetings. Just as I had spoken with you, sister, and promised that I would ask Brocchus and would come to you, I asked him and he gave me the following reply, that it was always readily (?) permitted to me, together with ... to come to you in whatever way I can. For there are certain essential things which ... you will receive my letters by which you will know what I am going to do ... I was ... and will remain at Brigga. Greet your Cerialis from me. (Back, 2nd hand) Farewell my sister, my dearest and most longed for soul. (1st hand) To Sulpicia Lepidina, wife of Cerialis, from Severa, wife of Brocchus (?).'

(Tab. Vindol. II. 292; Bowman, 1994: 127-8)

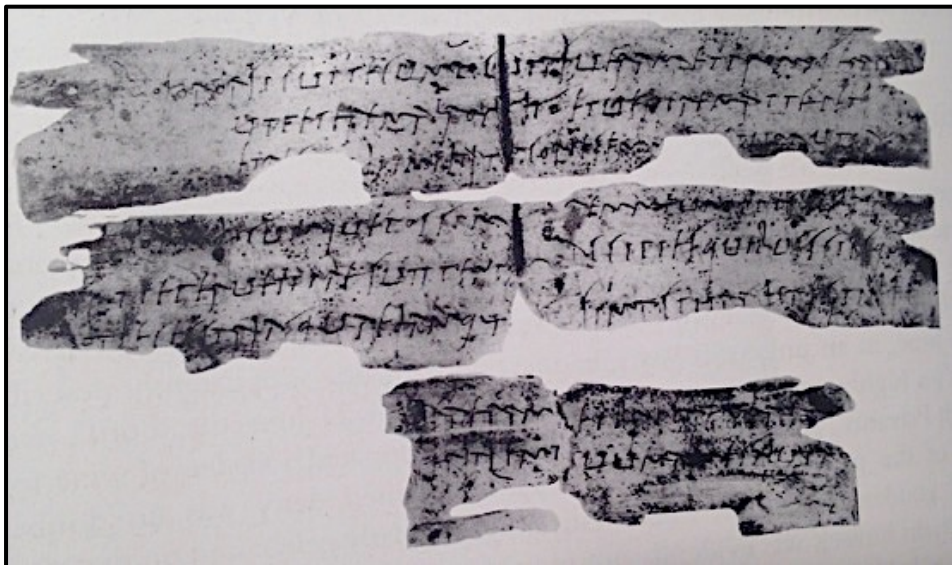


Figure 5.16 The letter sent to Lepidina from Severa (Birley, 2002: 136; Tab. Vindol. II. 292).

Tablet 2

‘Claudia Severa to her Lepidina greetings. On the third day before the Ides of September, sister, for the day of the celebrations of any birthday, I give you a warm invitation to make sure that you come to us, to make the day more enjoyable for me by your arrival, if you are present (?). Give my greetings to your Cerialis. My Aelius and my little son send him (?) their greetings. (2nd hand) I shall expect you, sister. Farewell, sister, my dearest soul, as I hope to prosper, and hail. (Back, 1st hand) To Sulpicia Lepidina, (wife) of Cerialis, from Severa.’

(Tab. Vindol. II. 291; Bowman, 1994: 127)

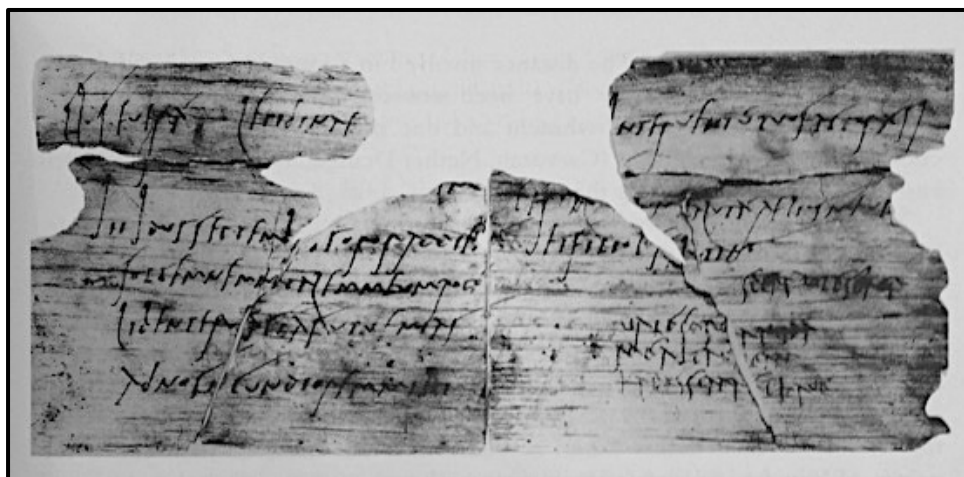


Figure 5.17 The birthday invitation sent to Lepidina from Severa (Tab. Vindol. II. 291; Birley, 2002: 137).

Tablet 1 shows that the husband of Severa was ‘Brocchus’, believed to be a commanding officer of the neighbouring garrison at Briga - the exact location of which has not been verified (Adams, 1995: 119; Peadon, 2006: 64; see Tab. Vindol. II. 292). Tablet 2 is about a visit to Lepidina indicated through ‘Just as I had spoken with you, sister, and promised that I would ask Brocchus and would come to you’ (Tablet

1). The subject of Tablet 1 and 2 is similar. Tablet 2 is a Birthday invitation from Severa to Lepidina inviting her and her family to a birthday party (see Fig. 5.17). Tablet 2 shows that Lepidina and her husband were invited to the social events of the families of other commanding officers in the area and that the wives of commanding officers organised social events.

Despite the potential isolation of the frontier regions, tablets 1 and 2 suggest that it was possible for the wives of commanding officers to have friends of a similar social standing nearby. The use of 'Farewell my sister, my dearest and most longed for soul' in Tablet 1 and 'farewell, sister, my dearest soul' in Tablet 2, as well as the subject of both tablets focused on reciprocal visits, suggests Lepidina and Severa were close friends. This close friendship is supported by the identification of a further two letters from Severa to Lepidina (Tab. Vindol. II. 293 and Tab. Vindol. III. 635). Although they are fragmentary the subject matter obscured, the handwriting is almost exactly same as those of tablets 2 and 3 (Bowman and Thomas, 1994: 263; Bowman and Thomas, 2003: 89).

A letter addressed to Lepidina from an unknown individual has also been uncovered. The Tablet is translated into English below.

Tablet 3

'... Paterna (?) to her Lepidina, greetings. So help me God, my lady
[and sister?], I should bring (?) you two remedies (?), the one for ...,
the other for fever (?) and therefore ... myself to you ... but insofar as
...'

(Tab. Vindol. II. 294)

Tablet 3 was in a diptych format (two hinged leaves). The presence of the word '*salua*' on the letter's left-hand column affirms the correspondent is a woman (Bowman & Thomas, 1994: 263). Bowman and Thomas (1994: 263) have confirmed that although the identity of the author of the letter is unknown, it was definitely not

‘Claudia Severa’. The subject of the letter seems to be about procurement and delivery of remedies for two illnesses one of which was a fever. This could suggest that a domestic role for women was caring for the ill. The use of ‘my lady’ in Tablet 3 suggests the sender was of a lower social status than Lepidina, and/or the writer was younger and showing respect to her elder. This letter shows that individuals belonging to the social status of a commanding officer’s wife corresponded not only with the higher-class women of Roman fort, but with women of a potentially lower social class and not just the social equals of Claudia Severa from Tablets 1 and 2.

As the wife of the Commanding Officer, it is very likely Lepidina lived with the *praetorium* and the correspondence of Tablet 1, 2 and 3 provide overwhelming evidence that she did (Bowman, 1994: 17 and 57). These three tablets provide a glimpse into the social lives of women of the highest social status and wealth at a Roman fort in Britain.

5.2.1.2.2 *Artefacts*

Having analysed the textual evidence, the analysis focuses on other objects recorded in this period, artefacts. Of the 1523 artefacts found within the *praetorium* of Period III, 19 were associated with the presence of women (VRR I: 58-87). Of these, two artefacts are associated with the activities undertaken by women, 16 with the personal adornment and dress of women, and one with the personal adornment and dress of an infant. Together, they were distributed among eight of the 23 rooms/areas: room/area II, VIA, VIII, X, XI, XII, XV, and XVIII (see Fig. 5.18).

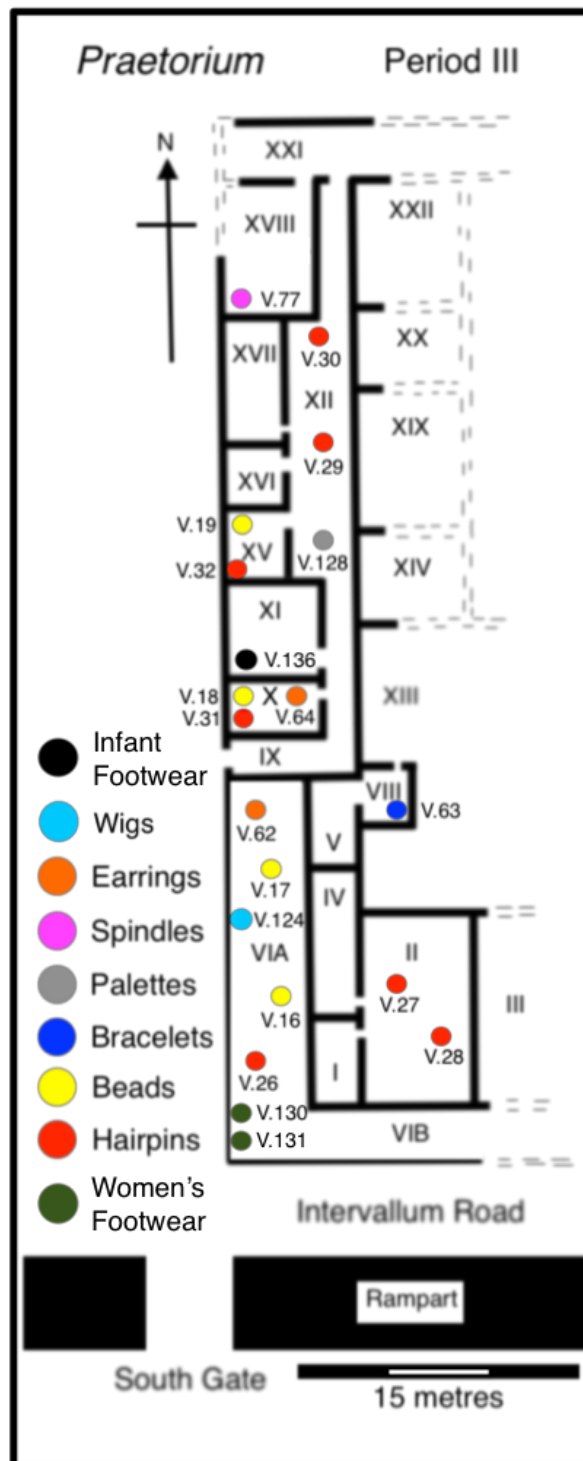


Figure 5.18 The Vindolanda *praetorium* of period III with the distribution of the artefacts associated with the presence of women found shown. The solid black lines show the excavated building walls and the dashed lines show the unexcavated but estimated location of other building walls (adapted from VRR I: 64, fig. 22).

The lead spindle whorl (V.77) suggests the spinning of wool was being undertaken in Room XVIII (see Fig. 5.18). The user of the spindle whorl is uncertain as both servants, slaves, and members of the Commanding Officer's family including, for example, Lepidina may have used it. Although slaves could have used the whorl, since spinning wool was an activity expected of an exemplary wife, it should not be assumed Lepidina did not participate in this activity (Suetonius, *Augustus* 73). The marble palette found in Room XII suggests the mixing of cosmetics, and by implication, the application of cosmetics, was being completed within the *praetorium*. The shape and size of Room XII suggests its function was as a hallway (see Fig. 5.18). This activity could have been completed fairly inexpensively (Olson, 2009: 291-292), so the owner of the palette could have been any woman within the *praetorium* - slaves, servant, or member of the Commanding Officer's family.

The artefacts that could have belonged to women of different socio-economic statuses are seven hairpins (V.26-32), four beads (V.16-19), two earrings (V.62 and V.64), and one bracelet (V.63). These artefacts are made from materials of low cost: bone, glass, and bronze and show no indication of intricate and expensive craftsmanship (Johns, 1996: 41). Hence, it is not clear whether female servants, slaves, or richer women owned or used them.

The hair moss wig (V.124) likely belonged to Lepidina or an individual of an upper class as the expense to produce such an item suggests a wealthy owner. An alternative identification of the hair moss wig, though, could be a mosquito net as it is well known that Britain's environment can support mosquitos (Dobson, 1994: 35). However, little evidence from the period of the Roman occupation of Britain is available for the presence of mosquitos. Instead, the likelihood of this 'wig' being used as a mosquito net can be evaluated by the geographical assessment of the population of mosquito in Britain by Gowland and Western (2011). They suggest that during the 19th century in the region of Hadrian's Wall the mosquito presence was small (Gowland and Western, 2011, fig. 6). Hence, the function of artefact V.124 is more likely as a wig. It could be that one rich woman in the fort had a health

condition which made her hair thin or fall out making a wig an indispensable accessory. Its deposition within the fort may be an indicator of its expiration of usefulness or function.

Of the 191 pieces of footwear found within this *praetorium*, three can be associated with women. Two of these are associated with the personal adornment of women and the other the personal adornment of an infant because of their sizes (see Chapter 2 section 2.4.1.2.5). The footwear associated with the personal adornment of a baby was a small sock (V.136) found within Room XI and made by the sewing together of two offcuts of fabric (VRR III: 83). Judging by the sock size it would have belonged to a baby and the need to breastfeed would have required the presence of a woman. No evidence exists to indicate whether the baby who wore the sock was Lepidina's or a member of the household staff. If the baby was born to a slave, it would have automatically been born into slavery (Cartwright, 2013), and if it was born to Lepidina it would have had a relatively high social standing. What the sock does indicate is that at some point a woman likely breastfed within the *praetorium* of Period III.

The two pieces of footwear associated with the personal adornment of women were found in area VIA (V.130 and V.131). The owner of V.130 is unknown. However, the owner of V.131 (see Fig. 5.19) has been identified as Lepidina (Birley, 2009: 74-5). Its size, intricate design, and impracticality for living in northern Britain suggests it belonged to a woman of wealth and luxury. The shoes' impracticality comes from the little material covering the upper side of the foot, similar to a modern-day 'flip-flop'. Very unsuitable for use outside, the shoe was probably only worn indoors and in a heated environment. Hence, this shoe probably belonged to a woman of the upper class within the fort and was worn where it was found, in the *praetorium*.

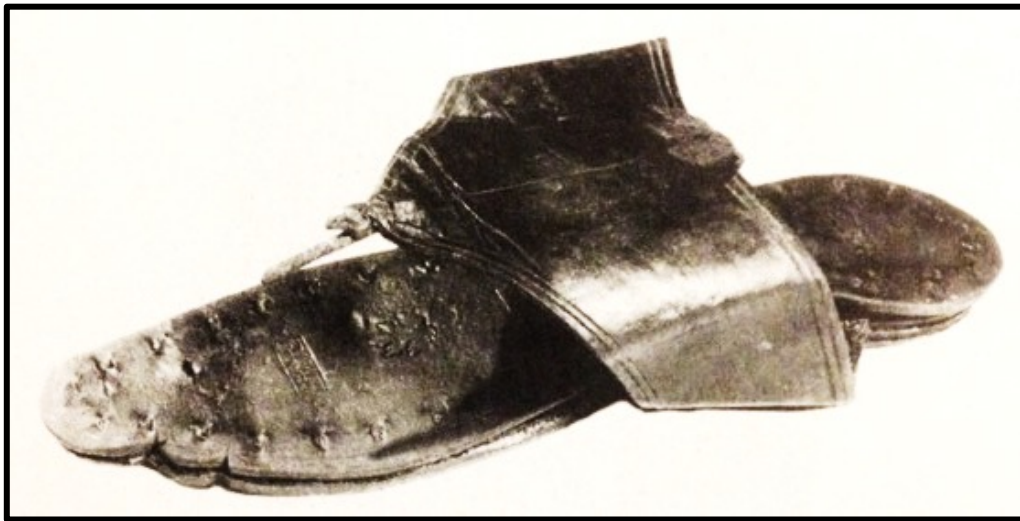


Figure 5.19 A woman's slipper (V.131) found in the period III *praetorium* thought to have belonged to Lepidina (Birley, 2002: 142).

The artefacts associated with the presence of women within the Period III *praetorium* suggests that more than one woman was present. This is recorded also in similar contexts, as, for instance, at the *praetorium* of Oberstimm fort (Building G) where multiple women are also suggested to have been present because of the presence of multiple artefacts of personal adornment and dress associated with women (Allison, 2013: 195 & 203). Little is known of the female servants and slaves who were probably present in the Period III *praetorium* of the first timber fort of Vindolanda besides that it is likely they owned some of the less expensive items mentioned earlier. This analysis has given a further hints at the life of the commanding officer's wife Lepidina beyond that provided by tablets 1, 2, and 3.

The finds from the Period III *praetorium* and their condition suggest the garrison had a sudden departure in AD 105. The remnants of multiple bonfires where a wealth of burnt artefact and tablet remains have been found, as well as the almost indiscriminate littering associated with a sudden departure, suggest a rapid abandonment of the *praetorium* (Bowman, 1983: 10). The garrison's sudden departure was likely due to the relocation of troops in response to the renewal of the Dacian Wars in c. AD 105/6 (Syme, 1964: 750; Wheeler, 2010: 1185). Hence, the

deposition of artefacts from this Period was likely aided by the rapid abandonment, which contributed to less care given when clearing up.

5.2.2 Second Timber Fort - Period IV (c. AD 105 – 120)

The Period IV stratigraphy of the 1973-1976 and 1986-89 excavations beneath buildings LXXIV, LXXV, LXXVII and LXXVI of the third century extramural settlement is the primary resource for data from the second timber fort (see VRR I). The Period IV structure in which the evidence from the period was found is positioned directly above the Period III *praetorium* has been identified as a barrack block (Birley, 2009: 96 & 98; see Fig. 5.15 and 5.20). Tablets and artefacts are again used to show the presence of women within the Vindolanda fort of Period IV (see sections 5.7.1 and 5.7.2).

5.2.2.1 Tablets

Two tablets indicating the presence of women have been found in the stratigraphy of Period IV dating them to Period IV. One is thought to have been addressed to the wife of the Commanding Officer of Period IV, Priscinus (Tablet 4), and the other is to an unknown recipient (Tablet 5). Both are fragmentary with their English translations below.

Tablet 4

‘(as?) my Lady has done, whereby you console me eloquently, just as a mother would do. For my soul ... this state of mind ... [during these?] days ... and I was able to convalesce comfortably. As for you ... what will you do with your Priscinus?’

(Tab. Vindol. III. 1491; Birley, 2002: 153)

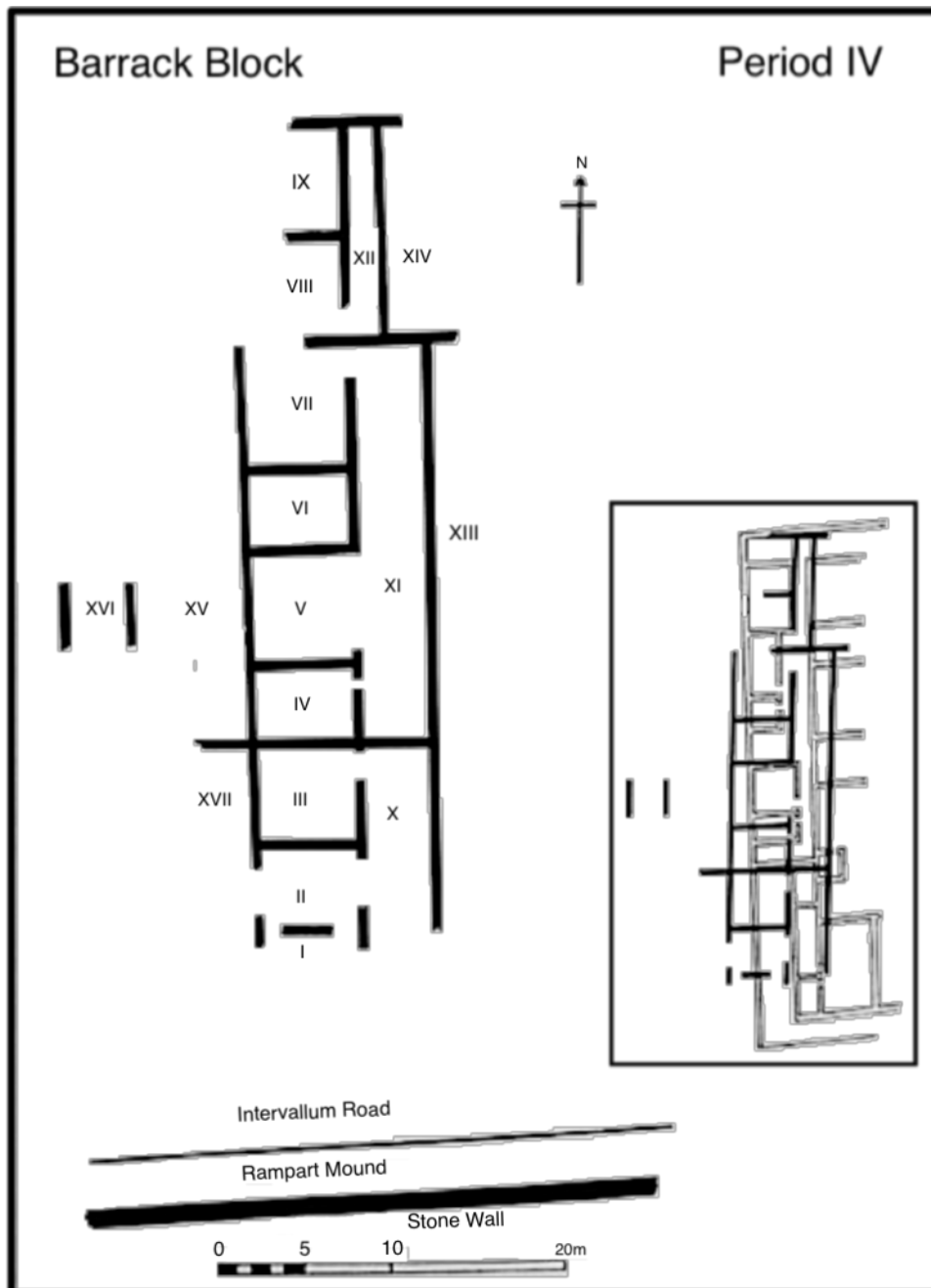


Figure 5.20 The period IV barrack block remains directly above the period III *praetorium*. (VRR I: 94, fig. 29).

It is likely that the receiver of Tablet 4 was related to Priscinus suggested through the words 'your Priscinus' (Tab. Vindol. III 1491). This is similar to the wording of Tablets 1 and 2 (see section 5.6.1) where 'your Cerialis' is known to be referring to Lepidina's husband. Therefore, it is possible Priscinus was the husband of the recipient of Tablet 4 and therefore the recipient of could be the wife of Priscinus. Birley (2002: 152-3) has identified Priscinus as the Commanding Officer of the Period IV fort arriving in AD 105 with the First Cohort of Tungrians and taking over from Cerialis. Letters from Oppius Niger and Caecilius Septemher were sent to both Flavius Cerialis (Commanding Officer of Period III) and Priscinus (see Tab. Vindol. II. 295 and 298). These add strength to Priscinus' identity as Commanding Officer of Period IV. Letters addressed to Priscinus' wife, thought to have been called 'Varia' from a fragmented letter (Tab. Vindol. III 1331), have also been found.

Birley (2002: 153) believes the sender of Tablet 4 was a woman. This suggests Priscinus' wife had written to the sender inquiring about their wellbeing with the reply, in Tablet 4, thanking her for her motherly concern. As a result of the overall context of the letter being absent, the meaning of 'what will you do with your Priscinus?' is ambiguous. It could be posited that the sender is asking about an unwell Priscinus, or rather whether they have any social plans in the future.

Tablet 4 shows the Prefect's wife had the resources and inclination to help, or at the very least, inquire as to the wellbeing of individuals of a lower status - addressing Priscinus' wife as 'my lady' indicates this. It is possible that the person/sender of the letter was a slave of Priscinus who would merit the concern showed by Priscinus' wife for her well-being. The social status of the sender social is, however, uncertain.

Although the fragmentary remains of Tablet 5 limit its usefulness, the use of 'my lady' immediately after the use of the pronoun 'you' indicates the recipient of the letter was a woman. As with Tablet 5 above, the use of 'my lady' in tablet 4 suggests the sender was of a lower social status than the recipient. Although unknown, the sender may have been a slave or servant of the woman receiving the letter.

Furthermore, the tablets show women worrying about the health of others suggesting care may have been part of the affairs of women.

5.2.2.2 *Artefacts*

Out of a total of 682 artefacts found from the Period IV barrack block, 17 can be associated with the presence of women and in particular with the personal adornment of women (VRR I: 95-106). They are a large bone hairpin found in Room VII (V.33), and 16 items of women's footwear found in Rooms III, IV, VI, X, XII, XV, and XVI (see Fig. 5.21; Birley, 2009: 96 & 98). With the length of the footwear the only characteristic available, the shoes are ascribed the identity category of 'female?/male?' (see Chapter 2 section 2.4.1.2.5).

Carol van Driel-Murray (1995: 16) believes that the women's footwear (determined as belonging to women because of their size) found within the Period IV barrack block is indicative of female and male cohabitation, and in particular camp concubinage. Although the forts of Housesteads and South Shields lack the evidence to suggest female and male cohabitation within their barrack blocks (see Chapter 4.7.3; Hodgson, 2014: Tables 4.2, 4.3, 4.4, and 4.5), the fort of Ellingen does exhibit evidence of such cohabitation in the barrack blocks of Buildings B and C (see Allison, 2013: 310). An example of a very similar distribution of women's footwear within a contemporary Roman military site comes from another androcentric focused building: a *fabrica* of the *legio I Minervia* on the Bonner Berg (see van Driel-Murray and Gechter, 1983; van Driel-Murray, 1995: Fig. 1.2 and 1.3). This shows that the evidence for the presence of women from the traditionally androcentric environment of the Period IV barrack block of Vindolanda is not an isolated occurrence. Hence, it supports van Driel-Murray's (1995: 16) argument of camp concubinage within the Period IV barrack block of Vindolanda.



Figure 5.21 The Period IV Barrack Block with filled black lines representing known remains and hollow black lines representing theorised structure of the Barrack Block (from VRR I: 109, fig 30; van Driel-Murray, 1995: 18).

Female concubines living within the Period IV barrack block of Vindolanda were likely '*de facto* wives' because it was not until 80 years later that marriage restrictions were lifted by the Severan Edict of AD 197 (Herodian, 3.8.4-5; Allason-

Jones, 1999; Derks & Vos, 2010: 60; Phang, 2001; Rawson, 1974: 280). Hence, the rooms with most evidence of the presence of women (make rooms IV, III, X, and XV) can be seen as '*de facto* marriage quarters'. Whether or not the footwear was a result of concubinage, they do indicate women at some point lived within the barrack block of Period IV (Birley, 1994: 111).

With the cohabitation of men and women probable, it is entirely possible the large bone hairpin (V.33) was owned by a woman. Alternatively, it may have belonged to a woman present within the barrack block only temporarily. The lack of evidence limits any further interpretation.

5.2.3 Third Timber Fort - Period V (c. AD 120 – 130)

The next/third timber fort of Vindolanda was occupied during Period V and only artefacts provide evidence for the presence of women. The evidence in Period V originates from the 1973-1976 and 1986-1989 excavations (see section 5.2.2) and was uncovered in a structure identified as a *fabrica* positioned above the Period IV barrack block – i.e. in the same excavations of the same area, in the next stratigraphic layer up (see Fig. 5.22; see VRR I, 1994: 124; Birley, 2009: 119-20). Of the 548 artefacts uncovered, three artefacts associated with the personal adornment and activities completed by women were uncovered (VRR I: 115-124). Associated with the personal adornment of women, a bone hairpin (V.34) and a twisted copper bracelet (V.70) were found in room 7 (see Fig. 5.23); and associated with the activities completed by women, a fragmented cosmetic palette (V.127) was found in Room 15 (see Fig. 5.23).

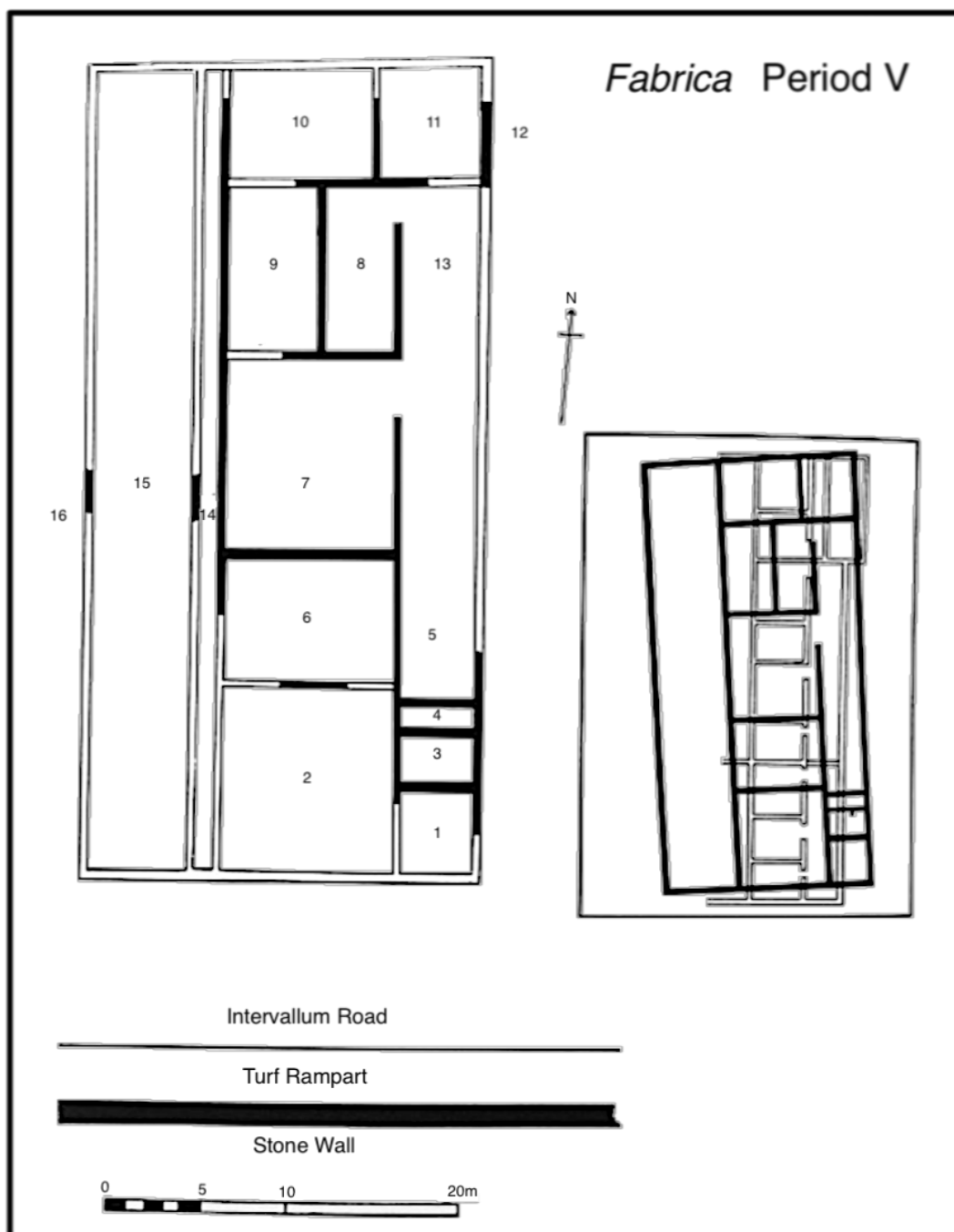


Figure 5.22 The remains of the Period V *fabrica* of Vindolanda in relation to the underlying period IV barrack block (from VRR I: 114, fig. 31).

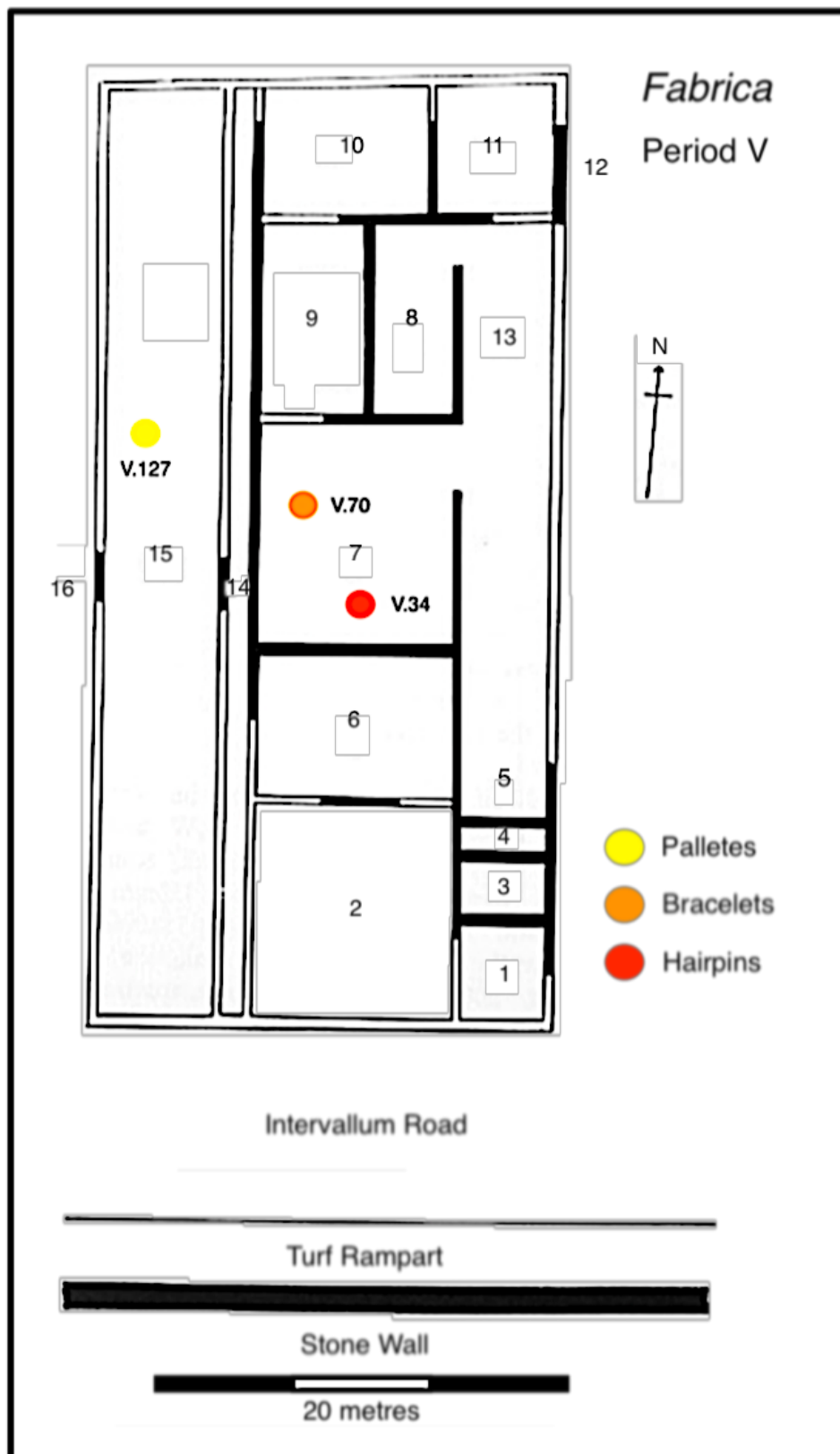


Figure 5.23 The period V *fabrica* at Vindolanda with the artefacts associated with the presence of women shown. The solid black lines show the excavated structure walls and the hollow black lines show the estimated line of the *fabrica*'s walls (adapted from VRR I: 114, fig. 31).

Room 7 has been identified as having been used for metal-working due to the remnants of metal objects, coal dust and charcoal (VRR I, 1994: 124). The bone hairpin (V.34) and twisted copper bracelet (V.70) also found in this room suggest women were present within a metal-working environment of the *fabrica*.

Alternatively, the twisted copper bracelet (V.70) could have been present in the *fabrica* as a result of being re-used. The fragmented cosmetic palette (V.127) suggests the mixing of cosmetics and perhaps the application of cosmetics were being performed within the Room 15 of the *fabrica*. If Room 15 was the entrance hall to the *fabrica* it is possible it was deposited as a result of a woman passing.

The environment of a *fabrica* inside a Roman fort was an androcentric one (Dark, 2001: 24) and hence the likelihood of the presence of a woman is slimmer than it would be for, say, a *praetorium*. Although this is displayed in the absence of evidence within the *fabrica* of Ellingen (see Allison, 2006: 16), evidence for the presence of women within workshops (albeit of a smaller size) within the Period II fort of Housesteads (c. AD 138-290) suggests that this was not an isolated occurrence (see Chapter 4.7.7). The presence of women within a *fabrica* of the *legio* I *Minervia* on the Bonner Berg in the 2nd century AD (see van Driel-Murray and Gechter, 1983) and within the *fabrica* of Rottweil fort (see Allison, 2013: 292) further supports this (see van Driel-Murray and Gechter, 1983).

Like the workshops of Housesteads (see Chapter 4.7.7), the presence of women within the Period V workshop of Vindolanda is also minimal. Artefacts V.34, V. 70, and V. 127 suggest women were present within the *fabrica* on a temporary basis, with V.127 suggesting the activity of mixing cosmetics was being completed in Room 15. Furthermore, the materials of which they are made of indicate that, as within the workshops of Housesteads (see Chapter 4.7.7), the area could have been accessed by women of different socio-economic statuses.

With the evidence for the presence of women from the three timber forts of Vindolanda being analysed, evidence from the first stone fort will now be analysed.

5.2.4 First Stone Fort (c. AD 130-212)

5.2.4.1 Period VI (c. AD 130 – 165)

Like the evidence used in this study for Periods IV and V, the evidence for the presence of women from the first stone fort during Period VI also originates from the excavations of 1973-1976 and 1985-1989 (VRR I: 11). The evidence for this Period has been found above the Period V *fabrica* within what has been identified as a ditch for refuse (VRR I: 139-40). The fort's ditches found during the excavations were likely defensive in function because of the location relative to the first stone fort during Period VI (see Fig. 5.10). Artefacts associated with the personal adornment of women were found in this Period VI ditch: 19 bone hairpins (V.42-60), one bronze/copper hairpin (V.41), one bronze/copper bracelet (V.75), and three amber beads (V.18-20). They were likely discarded into the ditch at some point during Period VI.

The material of which the hairpins and bracelet are made, bone and bronze/copper, indicate they could have belonged to women of different socio-economic status. The likelihood is that they belonged to the numerous women of a lower economic status than those of Officers' families living within the *praetorium*, as slaves and servants would have outnumbered members of the Commanding Officer's family. This is in contrast to the amber beads found (V.18-20) which are known to have sold higher than a male slave because of their attractiveness and use as amulets to protect against and cure illnesses, much like jet (Pliny, Nat. Hist. 37.12; Allason-Jones, 1999: 142; Allason-Jones, 1995: 29). Hence, the amber beads suggest the presence of wealthy women near the western defensive ditch of the first stone fort during Period VI.

During the Period VI (c. AD 130-165) amber beads were being produced at Aquileia and were then traded through the western Empire into Britain (Brown and Henig, 1977; Calvi, 2005). Like the Amber beads found from Housesteads, the place of production could indicate a well-travelled owner – for example, a trader.

Alternatively, other wealthy women such as those in a Commanding Officer's family could have owned these beads.

It is also possible that materials of value will appear less frequently in the archaeological record as they would have been treated with more care and would have been worth repairing if broken. So perhaps the items deposited as refuse are more likely to have been of lower value; and refuse areas are limited in their capabilities to show the presence of individuals with wealth. Furthermore, there is little to suggest that individuals with wealth would not have owned items of low value. Not counting the amber beads, the items of personal adornment can be used as signifiers of different social statuses as they would not have been expensive or difficult to produce. In summary, the artefacts show little more than a continuity in the potential presence of women at the site during Period VI.

5.2.4.2 Period VIB (c. AD 205-212)

The presence of women within the first stone fort during Period VIB has been uncovered from what is believed to be the *praetorium* (see Fig. 5.24) located in the south-western corner of the Period VIB fort (see Fig. 5.11). Two artefacts associated with the personal adornment and dress of women have been found: a complete bracelet of unknown material (V.35), and a jet medallion likely used as a necklace pendant – V.11 (Birley, 1973; Birley, 2009). Their precise find locations within the *praetorium* are unknown.

Little can be concluded about the bracelet (V.35) found in the *praetorium* of Period VIB other than it suggests the presence of a woman. The unknown material and hence unknown value of the bracelet (V.35) does not allow for any further speculation (V.11) about its owner, but it is far more valuable on account of its imagery. On the medallion's obverse side, a man and woman are depicted kissing (see Fig. 5.25), and on the reverse two hands are clasping (see Fig. 5.26). Of the two individuals on the obverse side, the one on the right is likely a male due to the short

hairstyle, high fringe, and facial hair running under the individual's chin. The individual on the left is depicted with ribbed hair pulled back from the face in a bulbous undefined gathering and hence identified as a woman. Their depiction as kissing displays affection between a man and women that is rarely seen on artefacts from Hadrian's Wall. The imagery suggests that affection was important to the owner.

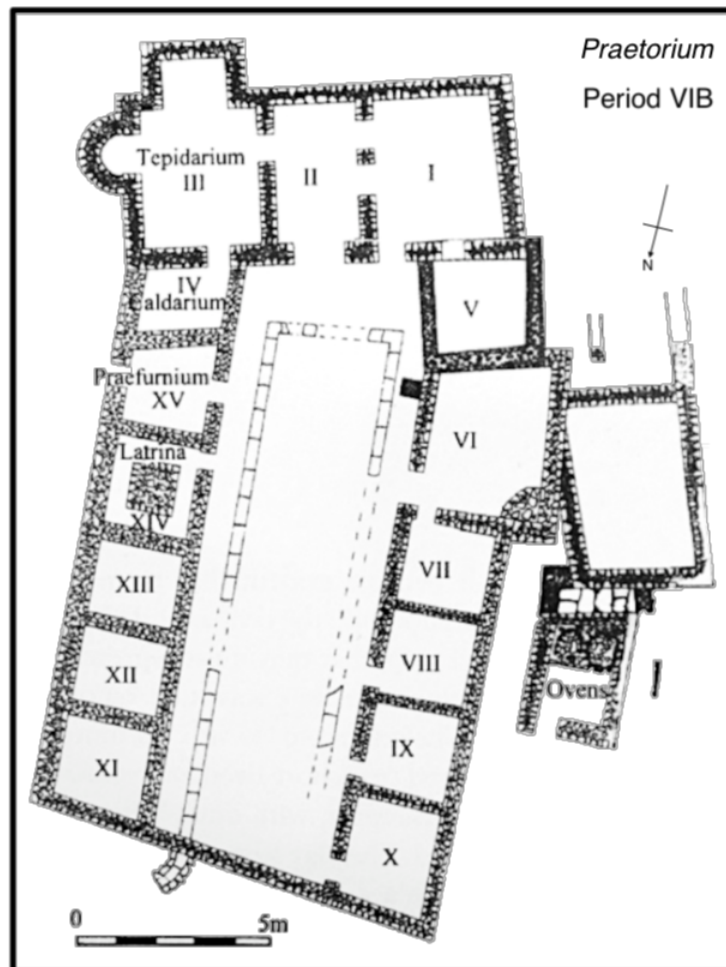


Figure 5.24 The Period VIB *praetorium* of Vindolanda (Birley, 2009: 136).



Figure 5.25 The obverse side of the jet medallion (V.11) depicting a man and woman kissing (Birley, 2009: 137).



Figure 5.26 The reverse side of the jet medallion (V.11) depicting two hands clasping (Birley, 1973).

The imagery on the obverse side of the medallion (V.11) suggests equality between genders. This is in contrast to much imagery across the Empire portraying women as being weak and inferior to men, often demonstrated through their relative positioning within the imagery (Figure 5.27 and 5.28; see Bartman, 1999: 113; Freisenbruch, 2010: 21; Wood, 1999). The female figure on the obverse of V.11 arguably has a more commanding position than the male, the male figure is shown with a slightly up-tilted head presenting a more submissive posture. The woman and man are very much portrayed as equals, perhaps to represent the respect shown between a husband and wife. The medallion's identification as having a marital function (Birley, 2009: 136-137) is congruent with this iconographic analysis.



Figure 5.27 A sardonyx of Tiberius and Livia as Ceres Augusta. Dated to 14-29. In Florence, Museo Archaeologico (Wood, 1999).

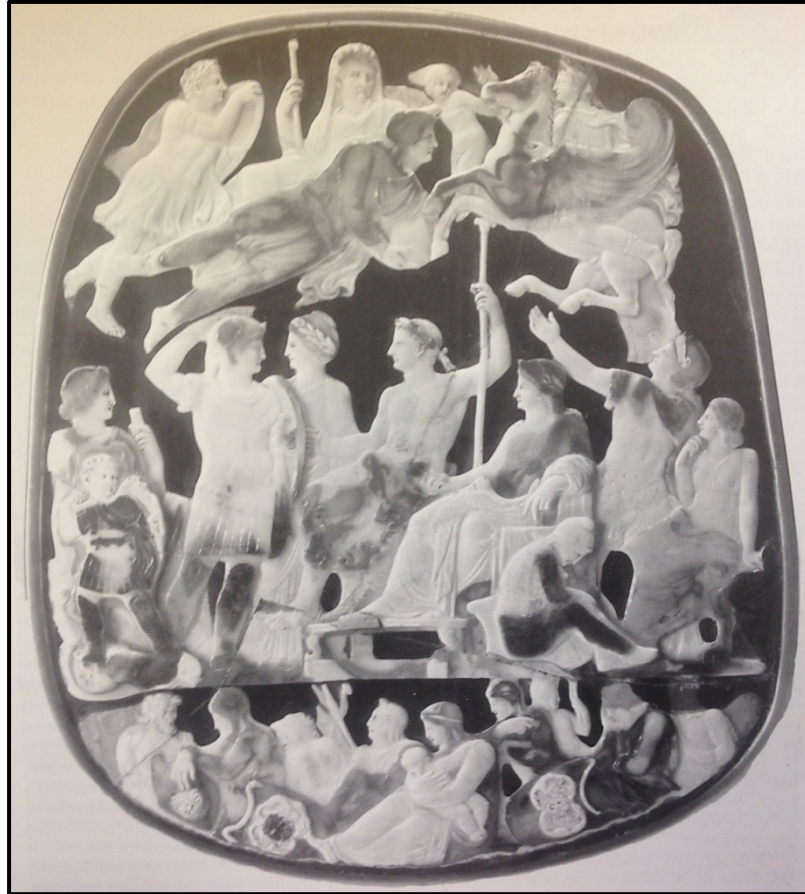


Figure 5.28 The Grand Camée featuring seated Livia and seated Tiberius. In Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (Bartman, 1999: 113).

The imagery of the two clasping hands on the medallion's reverse further suggests its purpose as a marital medallion. In ancient Greece the clasping of right hands symbolised mutual trust and friendship (Flory, 1978: 69), and the right hand was the sword hand, so the shaking of right hands demonstrated the promise of peace (Flory, 1978: 69). It is likely that the shaking of hands represented the hands of the man and woman portrayed on the obverse; though it is also possible that, the two hands symbolise the passing of the bride from her father's *potestas*²² to the *manus*²³ of the husband (Williams, 1958: 21-22). Whichever the case, it is probable the woman and man kissing on the obverse is linked to the two hands shaking on the reverse.

²² The power of the father over the daughter (Williams, 1958: 21-22).

²³ The power of the husband over the wife (Williams, 1958: 21-22).

Found in the *praetorium*, the medallion (V.11) may have belonged to a woman living and/or working there. The cost associated with the intricacies and craftsmanship of the medallion suggests its owner was relatively wealthy and thus it is likely the owner was a member of the Commanding Officer's family. This combined with the medallion's imagery would suggest the owner was likely the Commanding Officer or his wife. If this was the case, the two individuals on the obverse could be depictions of the Commanding Officer and his wife showing what they may have looked like. Alternatively, they could be more generic depictions of a man and a woman and a representation of marital matrimony.

Much like the evidence of Periods II to V, the evidence for the presence of women from Period VIB is at a household level, but the minimal evidence limits what can be concluded. An image of the identity of one individual has been developed - possibly the wife of the Commanding Officer who owned the jet medallion (V.11). The bracelet of unknown material (V.35) could have belonged to a number of women present from servants and slaves, to members of the Commanding Officer's family.

5.2.5 Second Stone Fort (c. AD 213-400)

5.2.5.1 Period VII (c. AD 213 – 300)

Evidence for the presence of women from the second stone fort at Vindolanda first comes from both the fort and its extramural settlement during Period VII. Artefacts associated with both the personal adornment of women and the activities undertaken more exclusively by women have been uncovered (see Chapter 2.2.1 and 2.4.2). The discussion will be divided into two sections according to where they were found: the extramural settlement (section 5.11.1); and the fort (section 5.11.2).

5.2.5.1.1

The Extramural Settlement

A form of structural organisation can be seen in the Period VII extramural settlement of Vindolanda with the grouping together of structures with similar functions - i.e. industrial (workshops of a metal working nature), commercial, storage, residential, religious, and service (Bathhouses) (see Fig. 5.29; Blake, 2014: 58).

Artefacts associated with the personal adornment of and activities undertaken by women have been found in these areas as well as within the defensive ditch running parallel to the fort's western wall (see Fig. 5.12). A total of 28 bracelets (V.74, V.270-293, V.305-306, and V.327), 104 hairpins (V. 36-40, V.42-43, V.45, V.48-60, V.84-100, V.376-392, V.397-429, V.466-468, and V.487-491), 243 beads (V.105-106, V.492, V.494-522, V.524-541, V.543-561, V.563-579, V.581-584, V.586-589, V.591, V.593-648, V.650-653, V.671, V.673-674, V.676-686, V.703-707, V.709, V.711-713, V.715-719, V.721-726, V.728-33, V.736-737, V.739, V.742-743, V.746-749, V.751-774, and V.776-790), and 70 spindle whorls (V.82, V.101-104, V.150-195, V.212-213, V.224-233 and V.238-44) have been found – see Graph 5.1. The analysis of this data will be primarily quantitative rather than qualitative due to the large number of artefacts used – a total of 445. The distributions of these artefacts are demonstrated in Figures 5.30, 5.31, 5.32, and 5.33.

There are few areas in the extramural settlement where artefacts that can be associated with the presence of women have not been found. Spindle whorls suggest the spinning of wool was undertaken within the commercial buildings XXXII, XXXIII, XXXIVB, XXI, and XXVIII, (see Fig. 5.30), within the domestic buildings LXXXV, LXXXIV, XXVII, IV, XXX(s), LXXIV, LXXV, and LXXVI, within the possible storage building of XI, on the side street running along the east wall of building XXIV (the Tavern) and the alleyway leading to the bathhouse (XXII, see Fig. 5.30). Spindle whorls have also been found in the industrial area CXXIII and in front of the industrial building II, along the roads A3 and B3, in the western gateway of the fort, and within the forts western ditch (see Fig. 5.30).

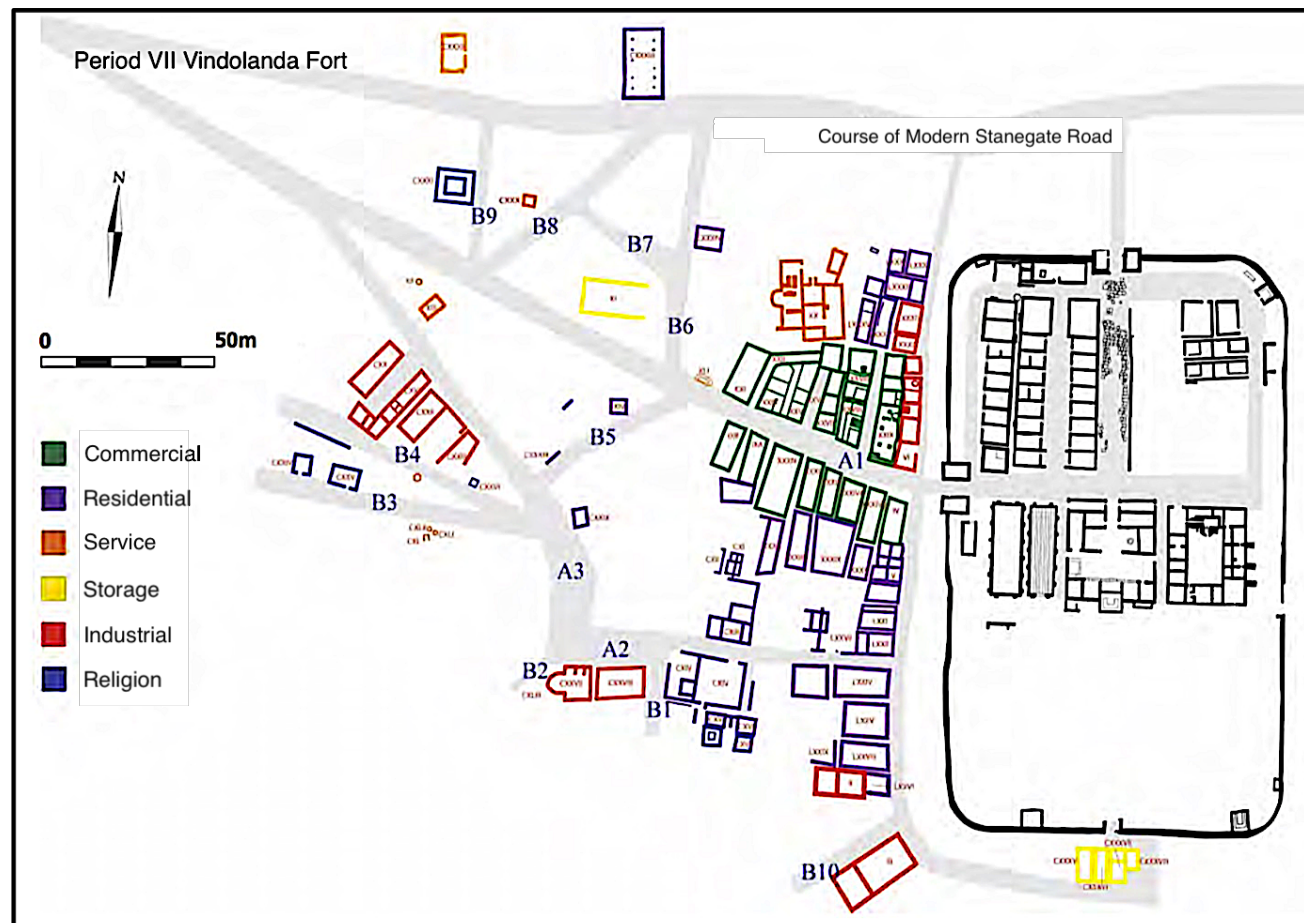
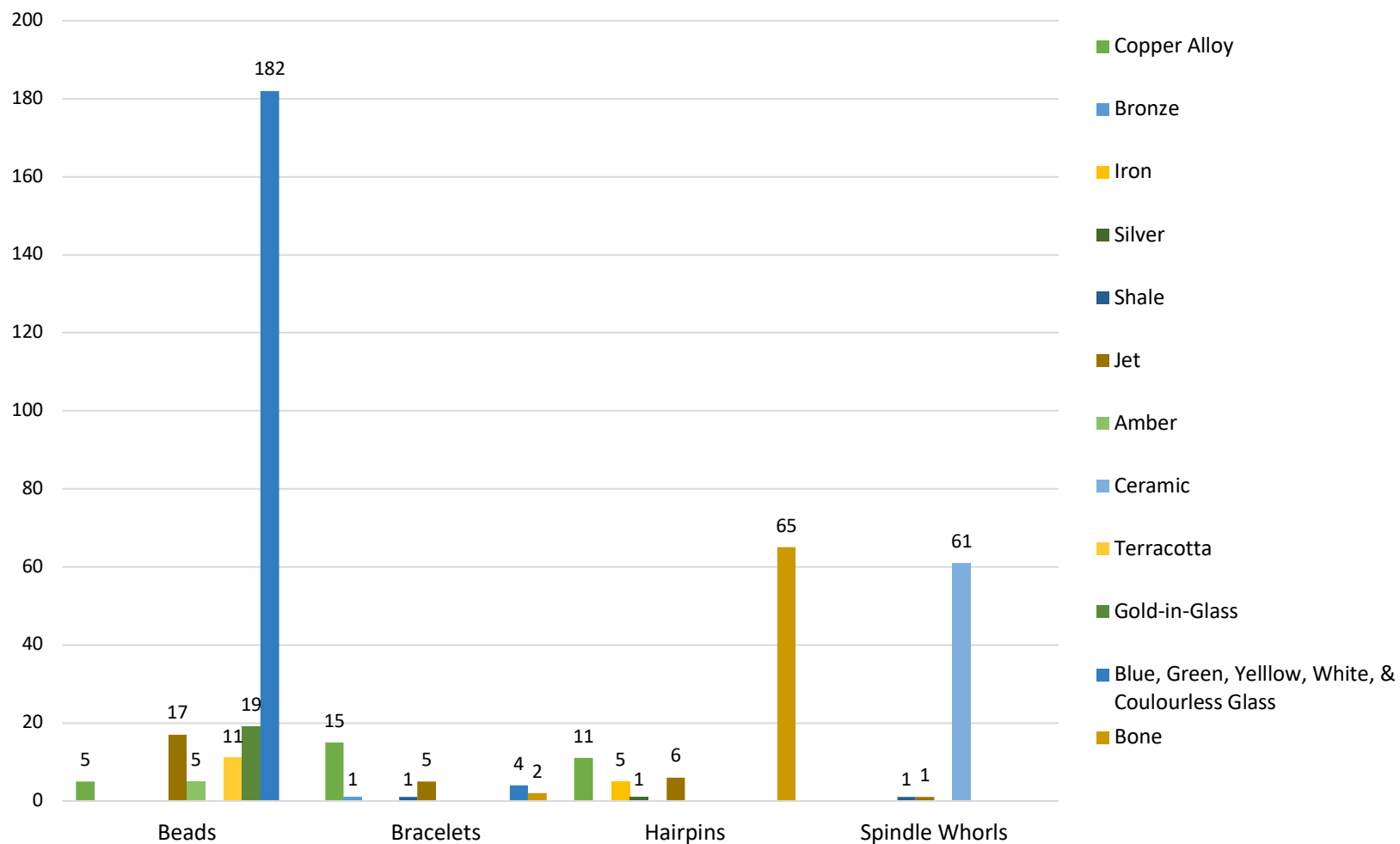


Figure 5.29 The third century extramural settlement with buildings coloured according to their function with the larger roads denoted by 'A' and the smaller roads by 'B' (from Blake, 2014: 58, fig. 41).

Graph 5.1 - Artefacts of Different Materials from the Period VII Extramural Settlement of Vindolanda.



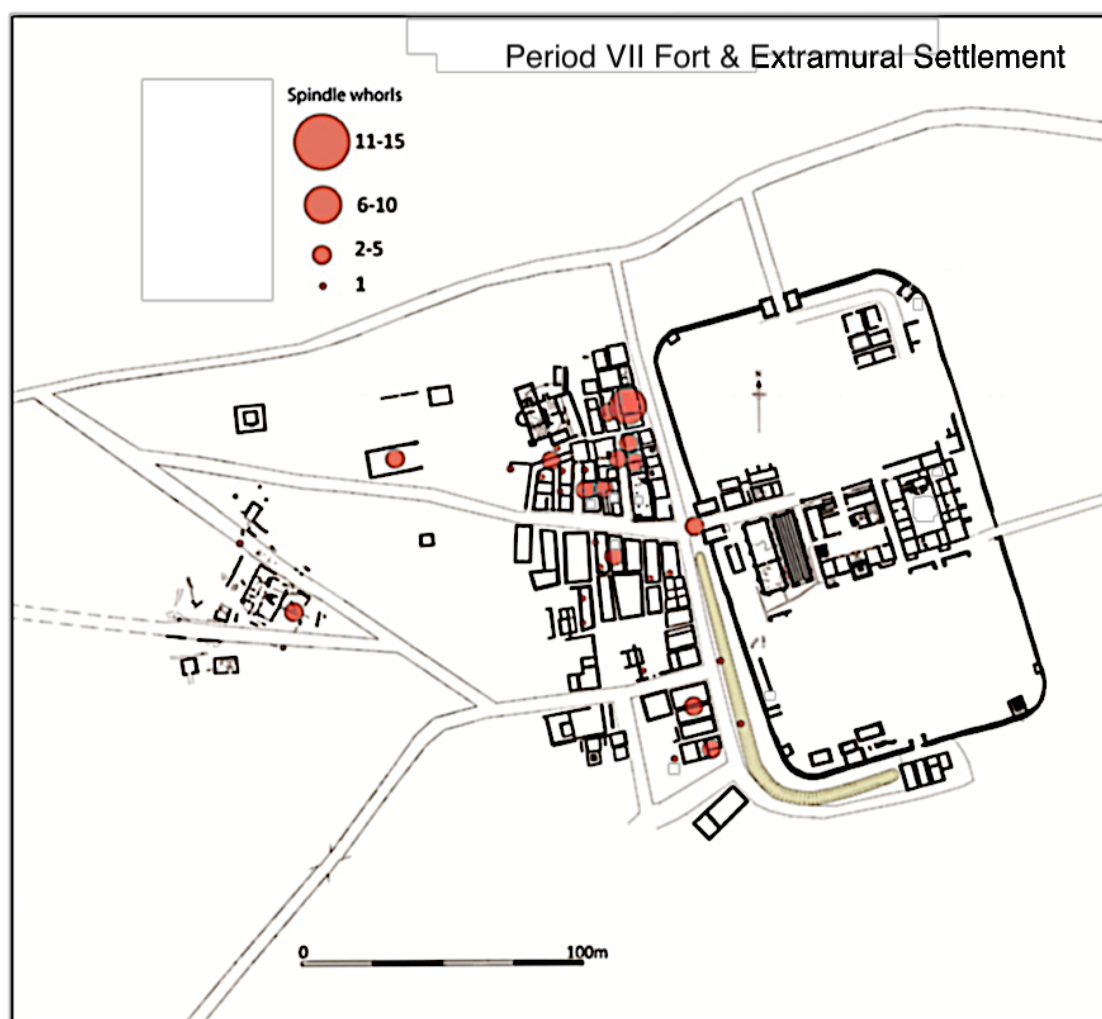


Figure 5.30 The spindle whorl distribution within the Period VII extramural settlement. In black are the excavated sections of the fort and extramural settlement prior to 2010 (adapted from Birley, 2010: 167, fig. 4.24).

Associated with the personal adornment of women, bracelets have been found within the domestic buildings of LXXX, XXVIII, IV, XXX(s), XXXIX, XXXV, and V, the commercial building of XXXII, the possible storage building of XI, and just outside the religious building of Temple I (see Fig. 5.29 and 5.31). Bracelets have also been found in the alleyway leading up to the Bathhouse (XXII), on the roads of A2, B2, and B3, within the western ditch of the fort, and outside the north eastern corner of the fort's wall (see Fig. 5.29 and 5.31).

The hairpins found are distributed among the domestic buildings of LXXII, LXXV, LXXVI, XXX(s), and LXXXVI, the commercial buildings of XXXII, XXXIII, and XXIX, within and around the bathhouse, and within the western fort ditch (see Fig. 5.29 and 5.32). Hairpins were also found on the B2 road, outside the fort's western gateway, between the domestic building XXIII and the commercial building XXV, and outside the north west corner of the fort's wall (see Fig. 5.29 and 5.32). With 20 hairpins, the bathhouse in the northern part of the extramural settlement contains the single largest concentration of hairpins during Period VII.

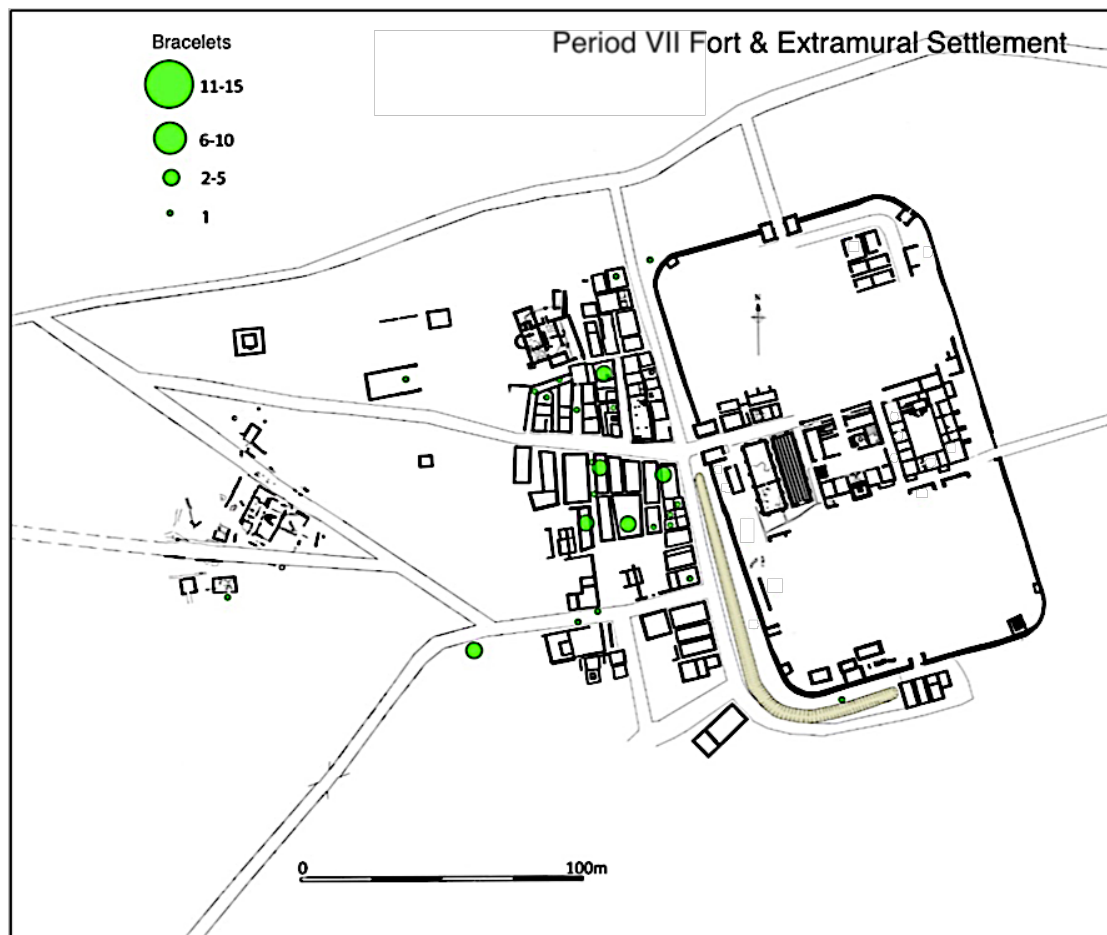


Figure 5.31 The bracelet distribution within the Period VII extramural settlement. In black are the excavated sections of the fort and extramural settlement prior to 2010 (adapted from Birley, 2010: 175, fig. 4.30).

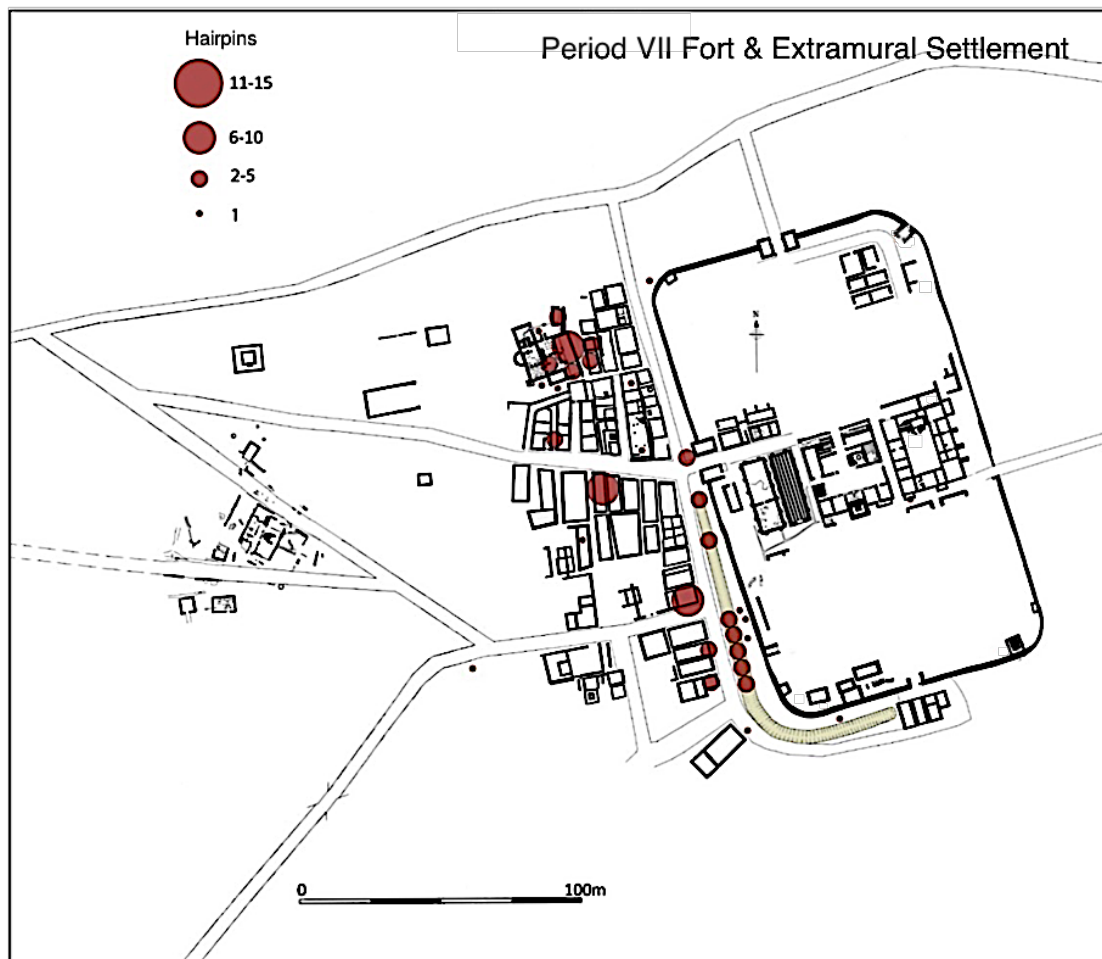


Figure 5.32 The hairpin distribution within the Period VII extramural settlement. In black are the excavated sections of the fort and extramural settlement prior to 2010 (adapted from Birley, 2010: 181, fig. 4.35).

Of the artefacts associated with the presence of women from the Period VII extramural settlement of Vindolanda, beads are the most numerous and widely distributed being found in over 80% of its structures (see Fig. 5.33; Birley, 2010: 185). Beads have been found within the domestic buildings LXXVI, LXXVIII, LXXV, LXXIV, LXXII, XXXV, XXXIX, XXX(s), CXI, CXII, IV, XXVIII, XXVII, LXXXVI, LXXXV, LXXXII, LXXX, LXXXIV(n), and LXXXIV(s), within the commercial buildings XXXIVA, XXXIII, XXXII, XXX(n), XXIX, and XXI, within the Bathhouse, within the industrial buildings VI, LXXXIV(n), and CXXIII, and within the tomb of CXVI (see Fig. 5.29 and 5.33). Beads were also found in building CXIII identified as a public structure, along the roads A3

and B2, outside the Shrine XIV and north and west fort gateways, as well as within the western fort ditch (see Fig. 5.29 and 5.33).

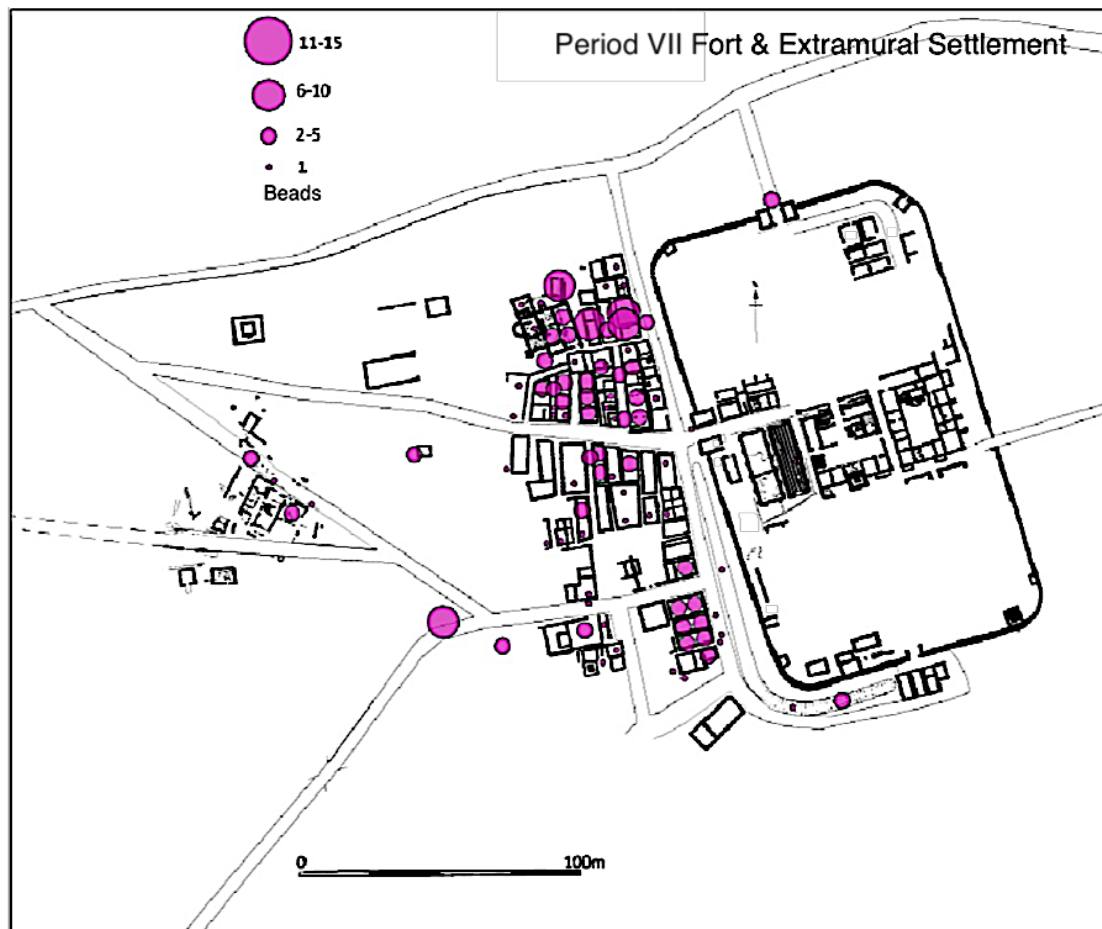


Figure 5.33 Distribution of beads associated with the presence of women from the Period VII extramural settlement. In black are the excavated sections of the fort and extramural settlement prior to 2010 (adapted from Birley, 2010: 187, fig. 4.37).

The presence of spindle whorls within the buildings lining the A1 road (see Fig. 5.29) of the extramural settlement are indicative of the spinning of cloth for domestic or commercial purposes (Birley, 2010: 171). In her Pompeii research, Allison (2004: 148) notes that it is not possible to establish whether the spinning of cloth was completed for domestic or commercial purposes from spindle whorls. Although it is unknown for what purpose the cloth was being spun (domestic or commercial use), the

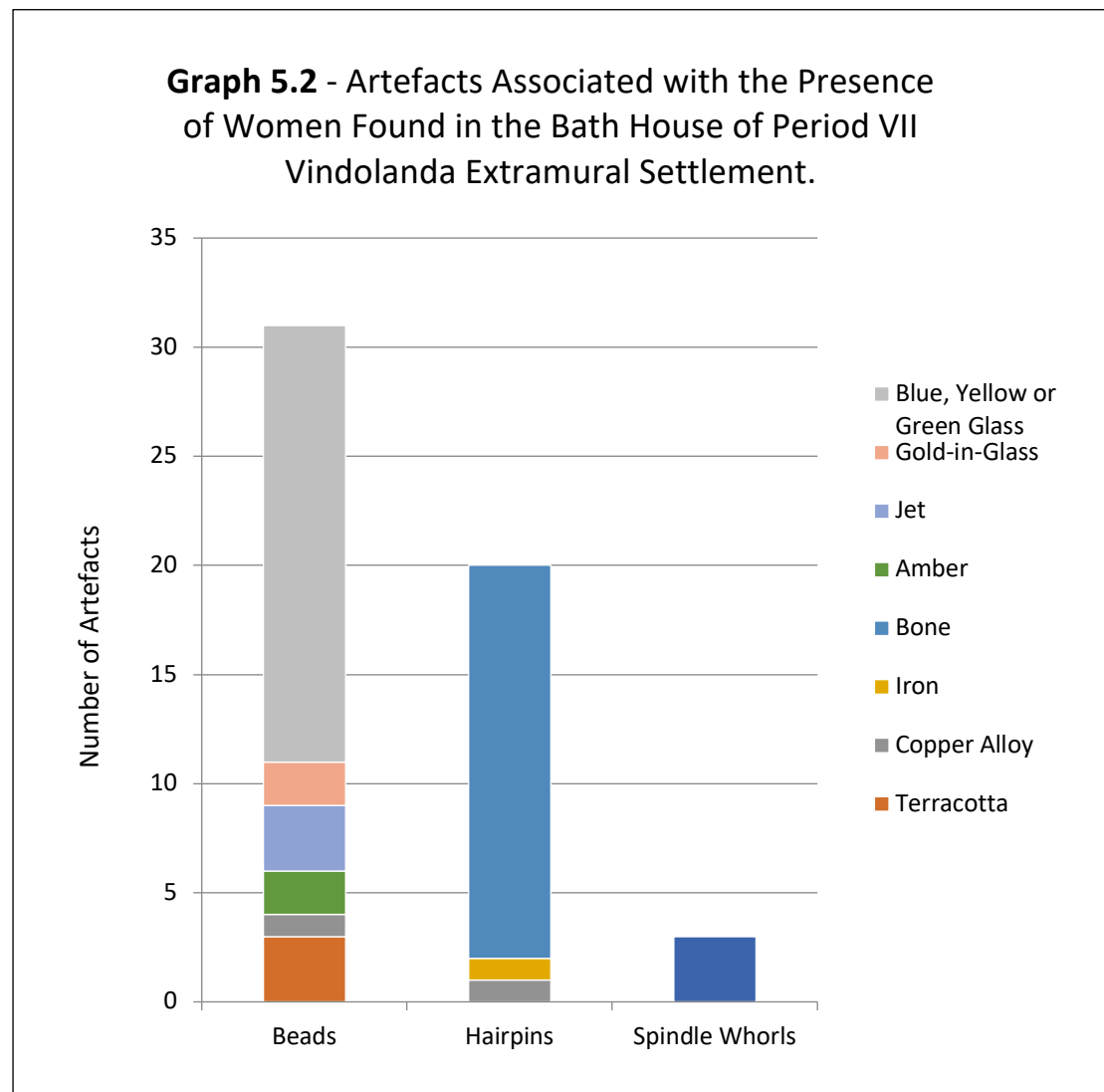
number of spindle whorls found (see Fig. 5.30) suggests many women were participating in the spinning of cloth (Birley, 2010: 172). Furthermore, the presence of beads, bracelets, and hairpins within commercial structures supports the presence of women within these buildings (see Fig. 5.31, 5.32, and 5.33).

Compared to the presence of beads, hairpins, bracelets, and spindle whorls in domestic and commercial structures, there are few artefacts associated with the presence of women from industrial buildings (see Fig. 5.30, 5.31, 5.32, and 5.33). Those involved in spinning were likely not to participate in that activity or take the associated items for its completion within a metal workshop environment. Hence, artefacts associated with the personal adornment of women are likely better indicators for their possible presence. The lack of evidence for the presence of women within the workshops of the extramural settlement of Period VII may be a result of women not being as involved in activities undertaken in industrial structures compared to domestic and commercial ones (Birley, 2010: 186).

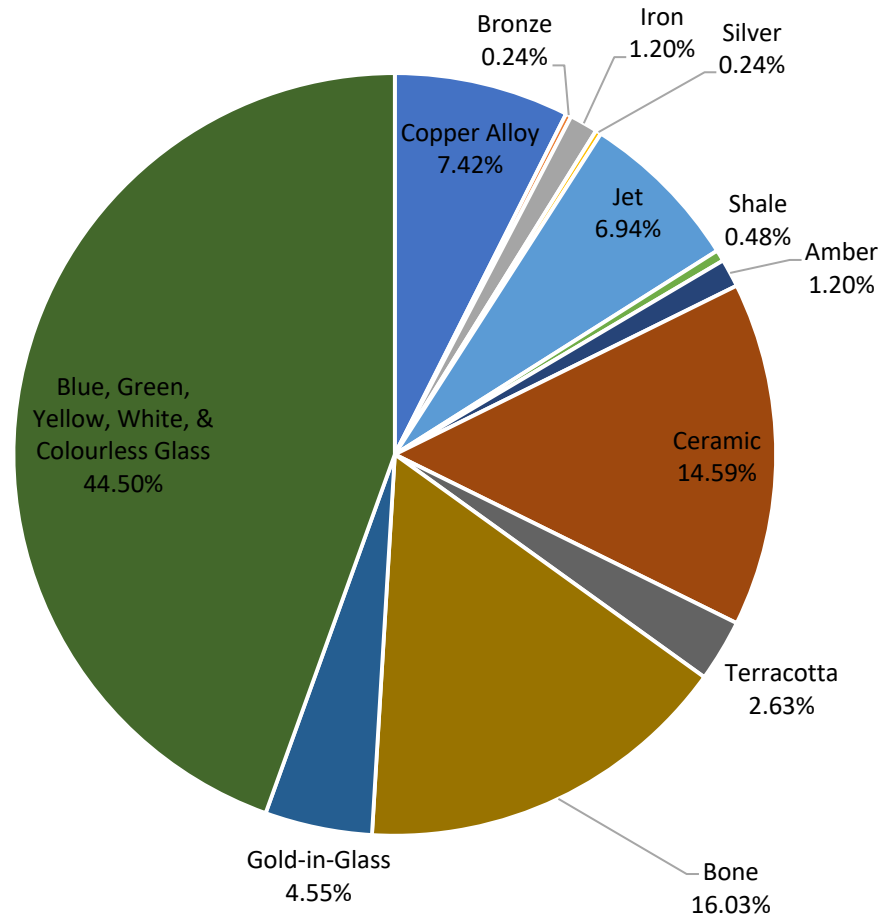
Although the presence of women is suggested in most areas of the Period VII extramural settlement, a much stronger presence in a singular structure is shown within the bathhouse (see Fig. 5.5), in which a total of 54 artefacts associated with the personal adornment of women have been found (see Graph 5.2). Most of these were found in the drain of the changing room and hence were likely lost while bathing and changing (Birley, 2010: 180), similar to that of the bathhouse of the legionary fortress of Caerleon (Zienkiewicz, 1986). The number of artefacts associated with the presence of women found in the bathhouse suggest its use was popular amongst women, and an important venue and facilitator of social interactions (Fagan, 2002: 1).

Of the 445 artefacts used in this study from the Period VII extramural settlement associated with the presence of women, those made from jet, silver, amber, and gold-in-glass indicate relative wealth. The artefacts of jet, silver, amber, and gold-in-glass constitute 13.1% of the data set from the Period VII extramural settlement (see Graph 5.3). The remaining 86.9% of artefacts are made of relatively inexpensive

materials (see Graph 5.3). Hence, this suggests that there were women of different of socio-economic statuses mixing in the extramural settlement of the second stone fort during Period VII.



Graph 5.3 - Different Types of Materials from which the Artefacts Associated with the Presence of Women Found in the Period VII Extramural Settlement of Vindolanda are made.



In summary, the artefacts found in the Period VII extramural settlement and used in this study suggest that women undertook toiletry activities and the spinning of cloth, the latter of which was extensive – the most extensive of any of the site’s periods so far due to the quality recovery of archaeological data. Furthermore, the bracelets, hairpins, beads, and spindle whorls found in domestic and commercial buildings suggest women were present in the (expected) domestic structures, and (less so expected) commercial structures. It is highly likely that women were also using the Bathhouse during Period VII due to the large number of artefacts associated with women (n=54) found there. Additionally, the presence of women in and around

industrial buildings is noticeably less than the other building types, and it is probable that women were not involved in the activities completed in those buildings to the same extent as those completed in other building types, such as domestic and commercial. It is also likely that the artefacts of personal adornment found in the domestic structures were lost while women were undressing – this would make women more concentrated in these structures than, for example, commercial religious or commercial structures.

5.2.5.1.2 *The Fort*

Having analysed the presence of women within the extramural settlement of the second stone fort during Period VII, the evidence for the presence of women with the Period VII fort itself will be discussed and analysed. Within the second stone fort itself, evidence for the presence of women has been uncovered from the *praetorium*, the granaries and the immediate surrounding area, the western rampart area south of the western gate, the south-west corner, and the north-east quadrant. The data from the fort will be presented according to these locations.

5.2.5.1.2.1 *Praetorium*

The *praetorium* of Period VII consists of 9 rooms (see Figure 5.34) and artefacts associated with the activities undertaken more exclusively by women and the personal adornment of women have been found. They are two ceramic spindle whorls (V.215 and V.216), five bone hairpins (V.445, V.452, V.458, V.459, and V.460), six bracelets - one of bone (V.316) and five of copper alloy (V.309, V.310, V.313, V.314, and V.319), and two copper alloy beads (V.692 and V.693) – see Graph 5.4. The precise find spots of these artefacts is unclear (see Birley *et. al.*, 1999; 2002).

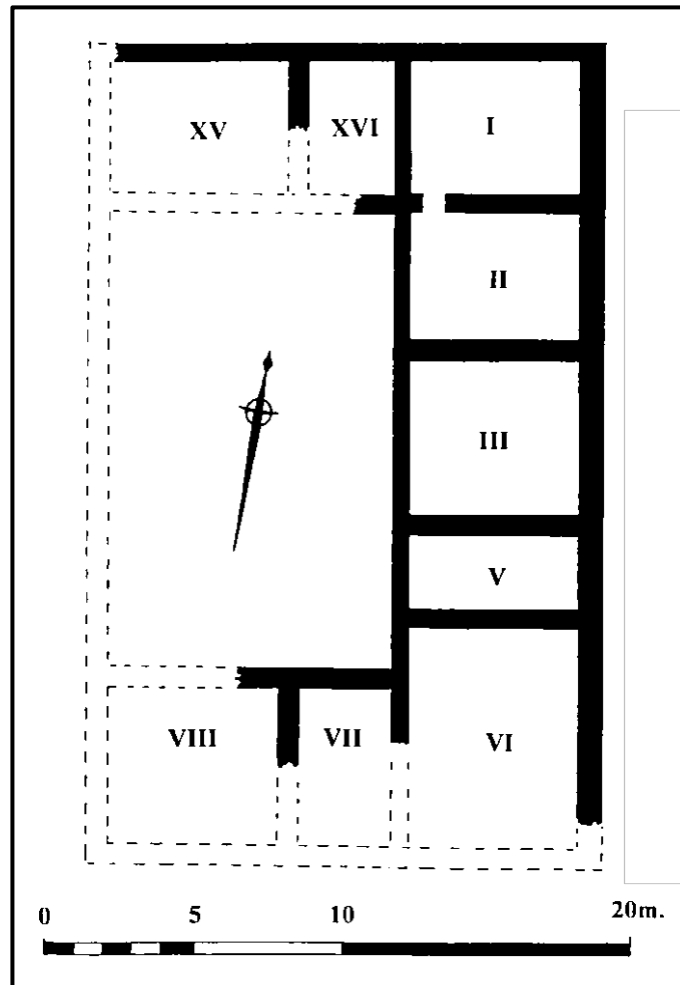
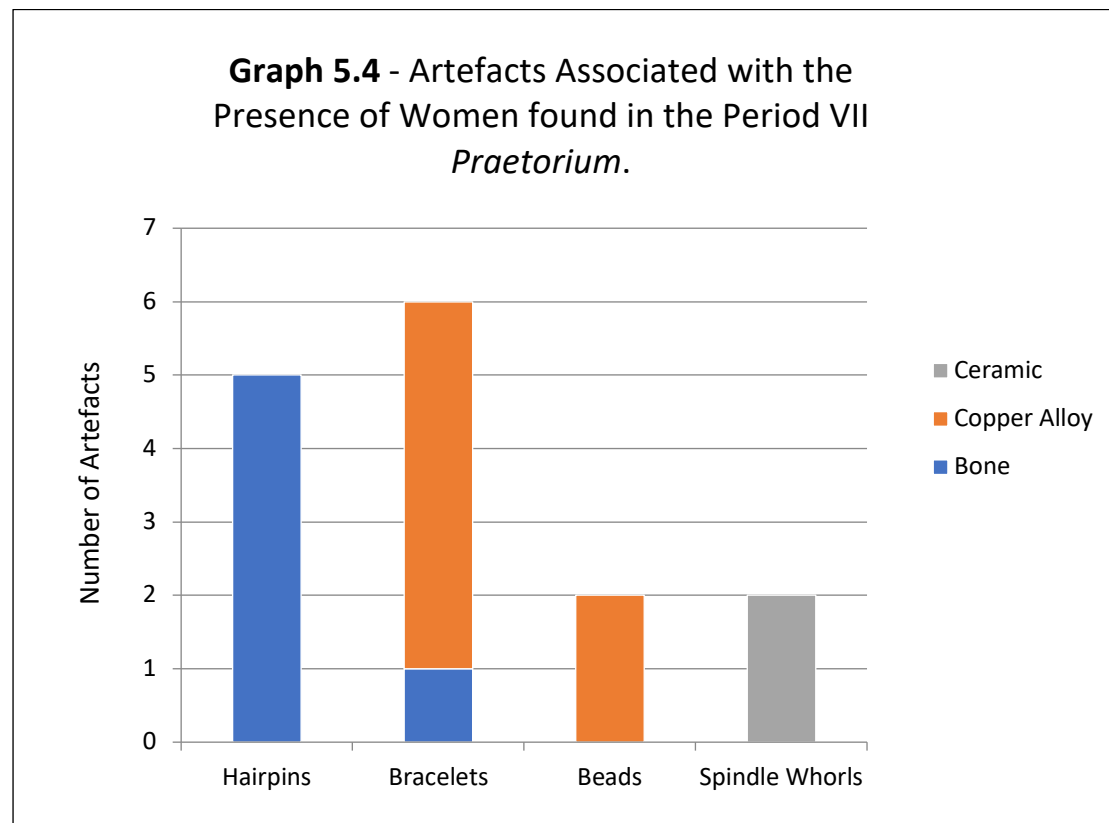


Figure 5.34 The Period VII *praetorium* of Vindolanda fort with the solid black lines denoting excavated walls and dotted black lines denoting the predicted remains of the whole structure (Birley *et. al.*, 2002, fig. 17).

Little is known about the rooms of the *praetorium* within which women were present because of the ambiguity of artefact find location (see see Birley *et. al.*, 1999; 2002). What is known, however, is that the wealth associated with the artefacts found (ceramic, copper alloy, and bone – see Graph 5.4) suggests individuals of different economic status could have owned them. Hence, the artefacts found may have belonged to servants, slaves, and members of the Commanding Officer's family. Furthermore, the two ceramic spindle whorls (V.215 and V.216) found suggest the spinning of cloth within the Period VII *praetorium* on a domestic scale. The spinning of wool is also suggested to be present through

multiple spindle whorls found within the *praetorium* of Oberstimm (Allison, 2013: 292).



5.2.5.1.2.2 Granary Area

Two granaries date to Period VII with the eastern one containing a sub-floor basement with a system of linear dwarf walls (see Fig. 5.35), similar to the granaries present at Birdoswald (see Wilmott, 1997: 111). The western granary was not furnished with the usual basement level instead having rubble packed foundations and a flagged stone floor (Birley, 2013: 58). It is probable that perishable goods were stored in the eastern granary as the basement level would have been conducive to keeping foodstuffs dry (Birley, 2013: 60). Although speculative, in the absence of any subterranean level in the western granary, it is likely 'barrels, smoked goods,

amphorae, hay for the horses or even other military supplies such as tenets, boxes of nails and other equipment' were stored there (Birley, 2013: 60).

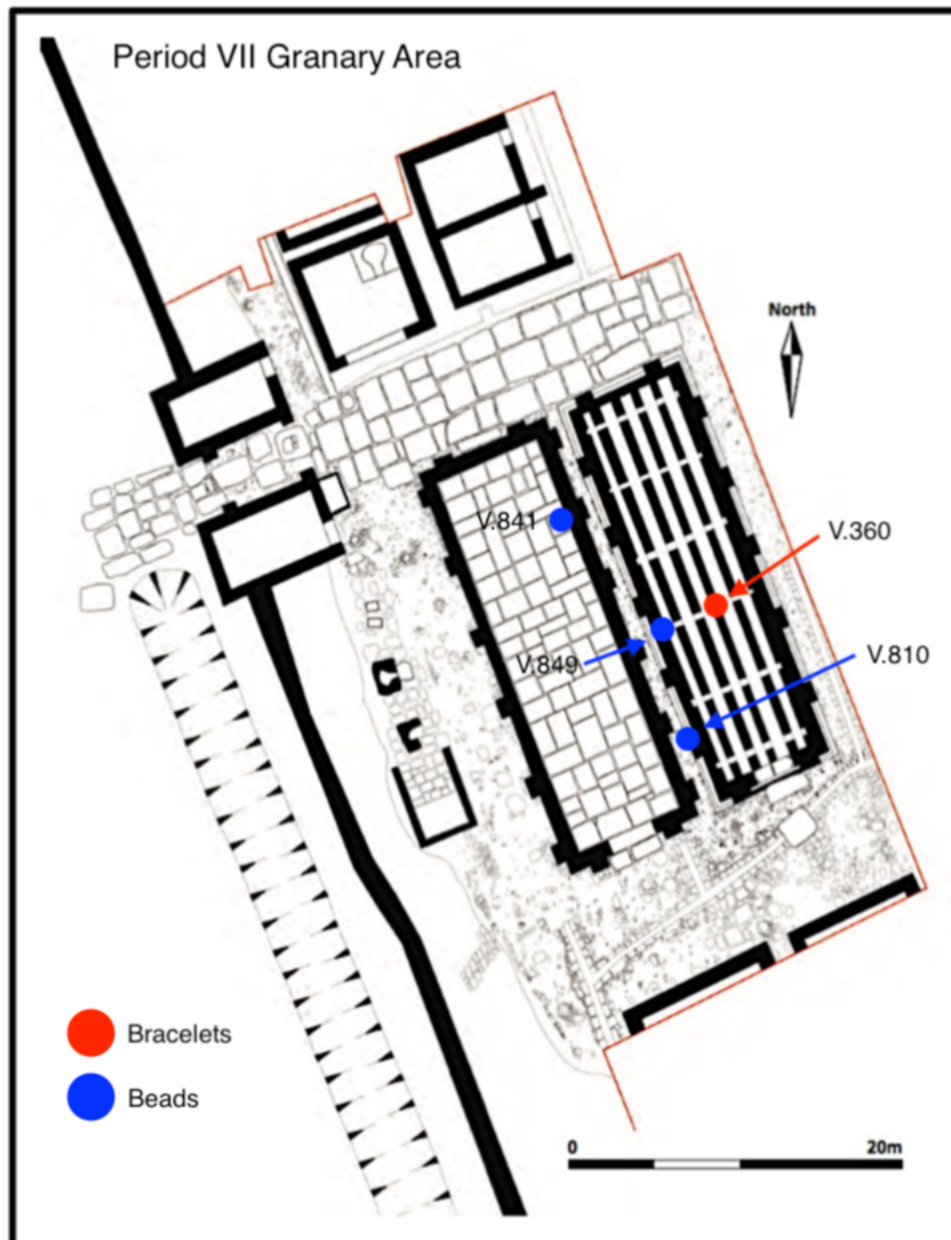


Figure 5.35 The eastern Granary and western store building with the surrounding buildings, roads, western gateway, and drainage of the 3rd century AD Vindolanda fort (adapted from Birley, 2013: 51, fig. 28).

Four artefacts that potentially belonged to women are associated with the personal adornment of women and have been found within the area immediately surrounding the Granaries of Period VII (see Fig. 5.33). They are a green glass bead (V.810) found between the two Granaries, a blue glass bead (V.841) found in the western Granary, and a bone bead (V.849) and bronze bracelet (V.360) found in the eastern Granary (see Fig. 5.35). A small number of artefacts associated with the presence of women have also been found immediately outside the *horreum* (Building E) of Ellingen Fort possibly associating women with the structure (Allison, 2006: 15; see Zanier, 1992).

The artefacts found within the Granaries of Vindolanda (V.841, V.849, and V.360) suggest women were present to a modest extent. This may indicate that women, or a select few women, had access to these areas which were so important to the military garrison of the time (Rickman, 1971:1; see Chapter 3.2.1). The number of artefacts found and the materials of which they were made (glass, bone, and bronze) also suggest that women of different economic status may have been their owners. However, owing to the known importance of granaries to the occupying garrisons (Rickman, 1971: 1), it is likely that the women suggested to be present within the granaries held important social status.

The very little evidence from the western granary building is likely a result of continued cleaning throughout its 3rd century occupation (Birley, 2013: 58). Yet, with such a small number of artefacts associated with the presence of women retrieved from both granaries and the surrounding area (see Fig. 5.35), further interpretation is limited.

5.2.5.1.2.3 North Eastern Quadrant

The north eastern quadrant of the second stone fort of Period VII was excavated in 1980 by Bidwell (1985) and is comprised of the north and east *intervallum* streets and rampart areas, a latrine in the north east corner, and two back-to-back barrack

blocks (see Fig. 5.36). The northern rooms of the barrack blocks were free-standing structures identified as officers' quarters (Bidwell, 1985: 58). The remainder of the barrack block was divided into a free-standing structure with a central partition providing two sets of accommodation with doorways leading on their east and west sides (see Fig. 5.36). This can be seen as a variation of the 'chalet' style barrack block of Building XIII at Housesteads where each Room was detached. Moreover, the interior of barrack building IIA and IIIA was divided into two rooms which were connected by a passage (see Fig. 5.36; Bidwell, 1985: 62).

The incomplete structure in the eastern rampart area has been cautiously identified as a stable due to the lateral drain running through it (Bidwell, 1985: 74). The length between the western wall and lateral drain is 2.3m which is more than the 1.83m in the stables of Hod Hill (see Richmond, 1968: 83, Figures 47 and 62) and less than the 2.6m in the stables at Künzing (see Schönberger, 1975: 58-60 and 63-4), making it within the range of a stable size. The lack of botanical and faunal remains challenging, particularly as stables are difficult to identify (Bidwell, 1985: 74; see Wells, 1977).

Women are suggested to have been present in the north-eastern quadrant through artefacts associated with personal adornment and the activities completed more exclusively by women. There are two copper alloy bracelets (V.303 and V.304), two bone hairpins (V.374 and V.375) and a copper alloy hairpin (V.395), four glass beads (V.904, V.905, V.096, and V.907), and three ceramic spindle whorls (V.203, V.204 and V.209). The find locations of those artefacts are demonstrated in Figure 5.36.

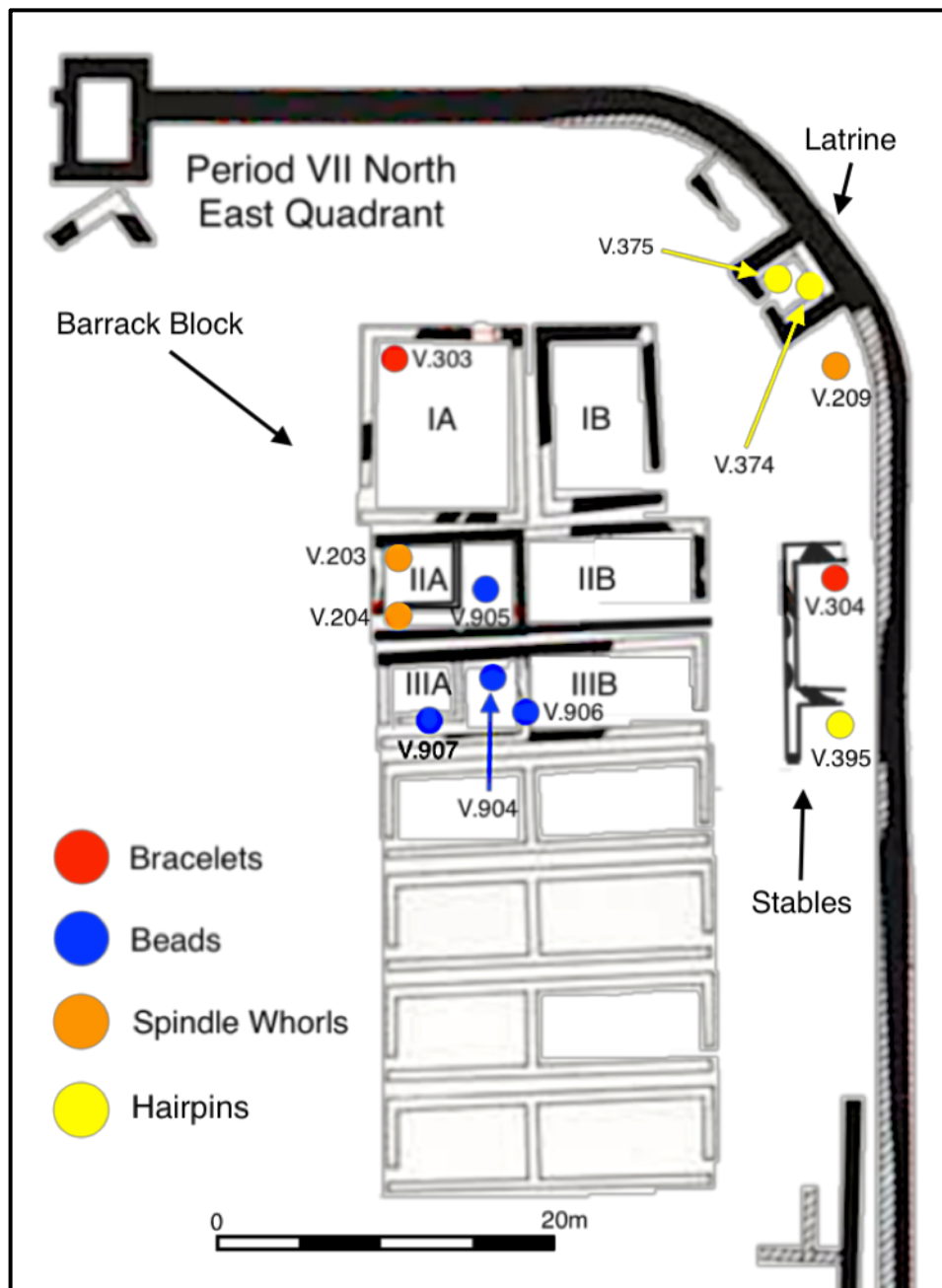


Figure 5.36 The north east quadrant of the Period VII fort with the location of artefacts associated with the presence of women found. The solid black lines denoting the location of excavated structures and hollow black lines denoting the estimated location of the structures remaining walls (adapted from Bidwell, 1985, fig. 35).

No more than three artefacts associated with the presence of women were found in any one room of the barrack block (see Fig. 5.36). Hence, similar to Building XIII of

Housesteads fort, the data is not extensive enough to suggest female and male cohabitation. The copper alloy bracelet (V.303) found in the Officers' quarters of Room IA suggests minimal presence of women. This is similar to the evidence from the barrack blocks of Oberstimm (Buildings 5 and 6) where insufficient evidence has been found to confidently suggest cohabitation (Allison, 2013: 292). The number of artefacts found in the Period VII barrack blocks of the north east quadrant of Vindolanda is similar to the number found in barrack block I of South Shields fort – only a maximum of three such artefacts have been found within a single *contubernium* of any of the site's *contubernia* (Hodgson, 2014: Table 4.2, 4.3, 4.4, and 4.5). Therefore, the evidence does not suggest women lived in the barrack block of the north east quadrant.

Two ceramic spindle whorls (V.203 and V.204) found in room IIA of the western barrack block suggest the spinning of cloth was taking place there (Fig. 5.36). Women present within Room IIA may have been spinning cloth while the soldiers were completing their duties and drills. Assuming those women present within Room IIA were part of a soldier's family (possibly a wife or concubine), the spinning of cloth may have provided another source of income for the family.

The ceramic spindle whorl V.209 suggests women were present near in latrine (see Fig. 5.36). Alternatively, the spindle whorl could have been lost by a woman who was travelling around the north east quadrant. The two bone hairpins (V. 374 and V.375) found within the latrine suggests women used the latrine in the north east quadrant (see Fig. 5.36). A minimal female presence is also suggested in the supposed stable of the eastern rampart area with a copper alloy bracelet (V.304) and copper alloy hairpin (V.395) being found (see Fig. 5.36).

The artefacts associated with the presence of women in the Period VII north east quadrant of Vindolanda fort (copper alloy, glass, bone, and ceramic) suggest women of different economic wealth could have been present, for example, servants, slaves, the wives of soldiers and officers.

5.2.5.1.2.4

Western Rampart Area

The western rampart area of the second stone fort during Period VII (c. AD 213-300) situated south of the western gateway was excavated from 2005 to 2006 (see Fig. 37). Within the western rampart area two rudimentary stone and clay ovens with cooking benches, a small rampart building identified as a shed just south of the ovens, and a toilet block above the south west corner were uncovered (Birley & Blake, 2007: 38 & 40-41; see Fig. 5.37). The ovens would not have been out of place within domestic structures of the site's extramural settlement and the shed is believed to have stored cooking benches (Birley & Blake, 2007: 38 & 40).

The excavation of the western rampart area south of the western gateway of the second stone fort from 2005 to 2006 (see Birley and Blake, 2007) uncovered artefacts associated with the presence of women (see Fig. 5.37). Artefacts associated with the activities undertaken more exclusively by women have been found - a ceramic spindle whorl (V.234), and eight artefacts associated with the personal adornment of women – specifically, three copper alloy bracelets (V.326, V.334, and V.335), two blue glass beads (V.793 and V.44), one green glass bead (V.799), one shell bead, (V.796), and one gold ladies finger ring (V.25) - see Fig. 5.37.

The finger ring (V.25), four beads (V.44, V.793, V.796, and V.799), and two bracelets (V.334 and V.335) were found around the two ovens in the western rampart area and may be indicative of women taking part in, or being present around, the cooking in that rampart area. With only limited evidence, one possibility is that the unusually large number of animal bones found next to ovens suggest the food preparation was for numerous people. Perhaps the women present were catering for soldiers and although women aren't exclusively associated with cooking, they are definitely associated with it in western rampart area of the second stone fort during Period VII. However, the evidence to support this is minimal limiting further interpretation.

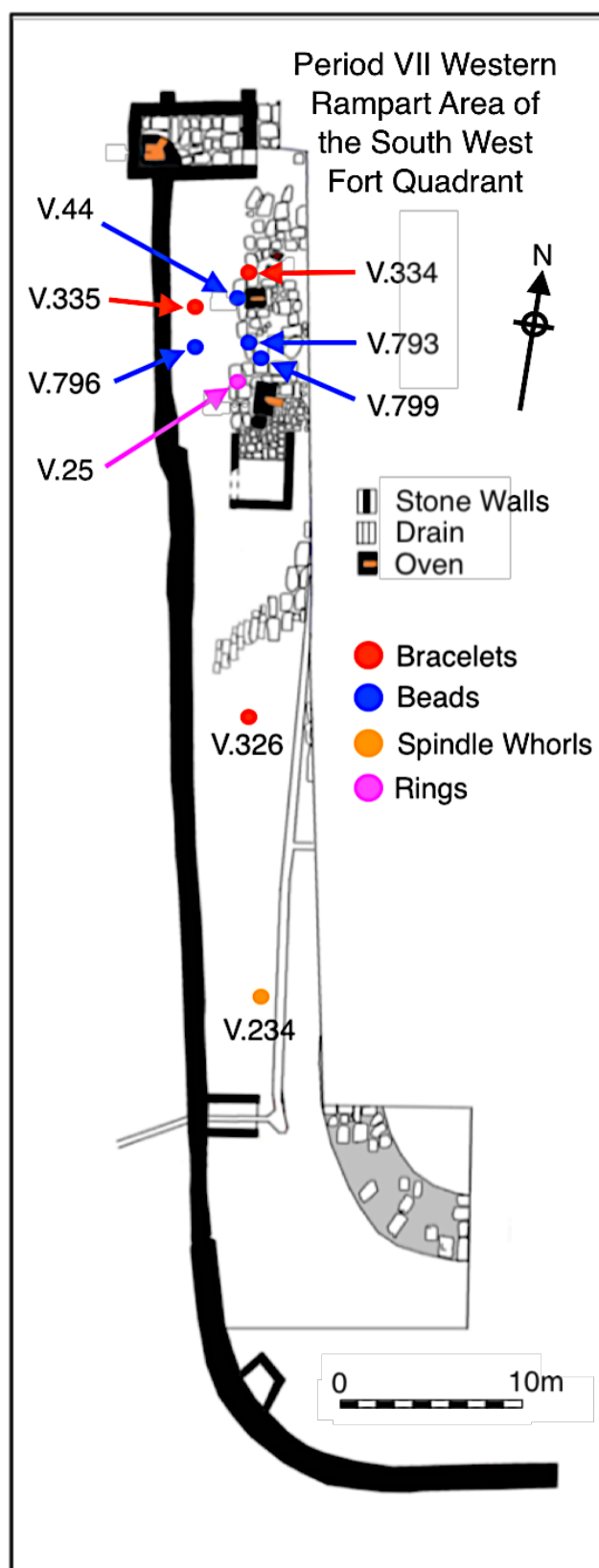


Figure 5.37 The Period VII western rampart area excavated below the forts western gate (adapted from Birley and Blake, 2007: 32, fig. 36).

Assuming the ceramic spindle whorl (V.234) was not lost in travel along the *Intervallum* Road, the spinning of cloth was being completed on a small scale within the area of the western rampart south of the western fort gate. If it was deposited as a result of the spinning of cloth in this area, it could provide information about the gender segregation of the rampart areas. It suggests women were possibly allowed access to the rampart area potentially being able to complete sedentary tasks such as the spinning of wool.

Women of varying economic status, for example from servants to members of the Commanding Officer's family, could have owned the copper alloy, blue glass, green glass, and ceramic artefacts because of the value of the material. The gold ring (V.25) and shell bead (V.796) however, are more closely associated with wealthy owners. With only one shell bead in the Vindolanda dataset of this study, as well as the absence of shell artefacts from Housesteads, Oberstimm, Ellingen, Rottweil I and II, Vetera I, and Hesselbach (see Allison, 2013), it is likely that a person of greater economic wealth owned the shell bead.

5.2.5.1.2.5 Southern Rampart Area

The excavations of the southern rampart area of the south western quadrant from 1999 to 2000 revealed an angle tower with attached oven in the south western corner of the rampart area (see Fig. 5.38; Blake, 2001: 7). Two artefacts associated with the personal adornment of women dating to Period VII were recovered from this area (see Blake, 2001). They are a yellow glass and blue glass bead (V.700 and V.702 respectively). Their exact find locations within the area is unknown (see Blake, 2001).

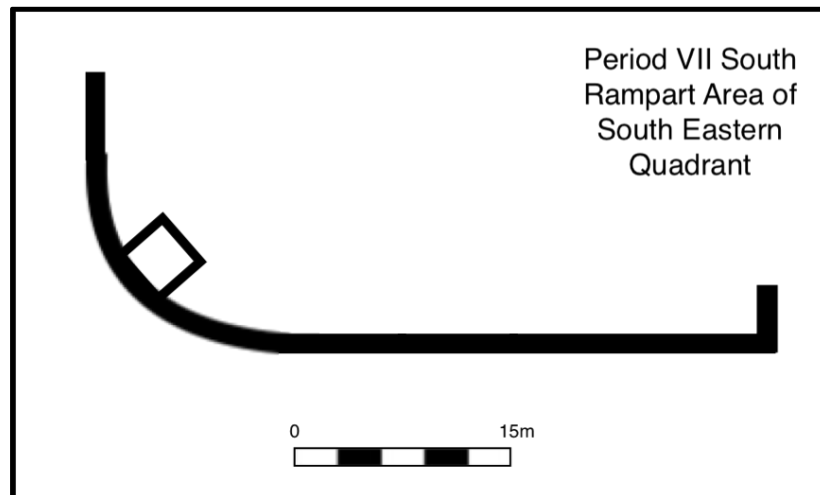


Figure 5.38 The south rampart area of the south western quadrant of the Period VII fort of Vindolanda (adapted from Bidwell, 1985, fig. 35).

The limited volume of data for the presence of women in this area, as well as the lack of exact find locations for the two glass beads (V.700 and V.702), limits the interpretation of the presence of women in the southern Rampart area. What can be said, however, is that the owners of the two beads could have been of different economic statuses due to the relatively low value of the artefacts. Hence, the owners of those beads could have varied from servants or slaves or members of the Commanding Officer's family.

Since the extramural settlement of the 4th century was not built upon, unlike the internal structures on the fort, more artefacts are expected to be found from the Period VII extramural settlement as opposed to within the Period VII fort (Birley, 2010: 119-120). This is because as new construction and modification were taking place within the fort, artefacts would have been moved and cleared. The number of artefacts associated with the presence of women found within the Period VII fort (n=41) is less than one tenth of those found in the extramural settlement (n=445; see Graph 5.1). Hence, it is likely the true number of women present in the second stone fort during Period VII was greater than represented in the archaeological record.

5.2.5.2 Periods VIII & IX (4th century, stone fort II)

According to numismatic data (Birley, 2009: 167) the extramural settlement of Vindolanda had been abandoned in roughly AD 270, so it is unsurprising that evidence for the presence of women during Periods VIII and IX comes primarily from within the fort. However, a small amount has come from the abandoned extramural settlement. Hence, like the structure of section 5.11, the data from Period VII will be presented according to extramural or intramural context with extramural (section 5.2.5.2.1) being analysed first then followed by intramural (section 5.2.5.2.2).

5.2.5.2.1 The Extramural Settlement

Although the extramural settlement seems to have been abandoned, the roads as well as the wells and bathhouse remained in use. Similarities with Housesteads can be drawn here. When the extramural settlement of Housesteads was abandoned in approximately AD 270 some of the closest buildings to the fort's south gate remained occupied (Bidwell, 1985: 88).

The only artefacts associated with the presence of women found in the extramural settlement of the fourth century were 3 glass beads (V.673-4 and V.743) and a gold ring (V.14). Of the three beads, one (V.673) was found just north of the fort's northern gateway, a second (V.674) was found on the road leading north out of the fort's eastern gateway, and the third (V.743) was found just outside the western fort walls of the south west quadrant. These beads may suggest women were present outside the northern gateway and exterior of the fort's western walls. The gold ring (V.14) was found within the Bathhouse porch suggesting a relatively wealthy woman was present there, potentially for bathing, at some point during the 4th century AD.

The number of artefacts associated with the presence of women during the 4th century AD within the extramural settlement is consistent with its earlier abandonment in roughly AD 270 – very few artefacts would have been expected to be found (Bidwell, 1985: 88). This begs the question of whether the women and civilians within the extramural settlement of Period VII relocated to within the fort itself in the 4th century AD or went elsewhere.

5.2.5.2.2 The Fort

The presence of women within the 4th century AD fort of Vindolanda comes from five areas. They are the *praetorium*, the granaries and the immediate surrounding area, the north east quadrant, and the western and southern rampart areas of the south west quadrant. The presentation and analysis of data is organised according to location.

5.2.5.2.2.1 Praetorium

Within the *praetorium* of Periods VIII and IX 27 artefacts associated with the personal adornment of women and one artefact associated with the activities completed by women were found. They are: one amber bead (V.688); two green glass beads (V.690-691); 13 bone hairpins (V.434-435, V.440-444, V.446-451, V.456-457); one jet hairpin (V.446); one copper alloy hairpin (V.457); three jet bracelets (V.308, V.312, V.318); four copper alloy bracelets (V.309-311 and V.317); one bone bracelet (V.315); and one ceramic spindle whorl (V.218) – see Graph 5.5. Of these 27 artefacts 14 have find spot locations (see Fig. 5.39). Find spot locations for the remaining 13 artefacts are unknown (see Birley *et. al.*, 1999; Birley *et. al.*, 2002).

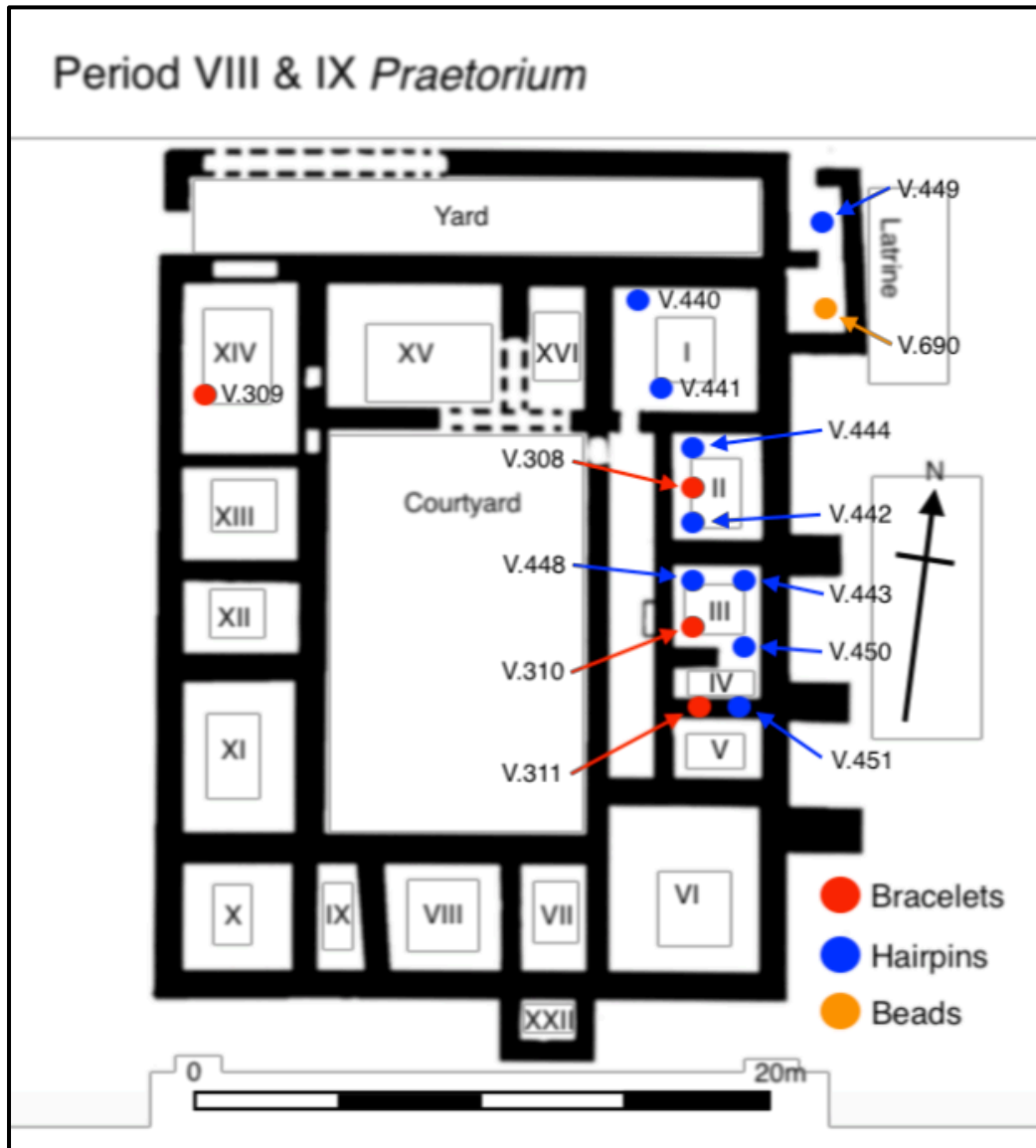


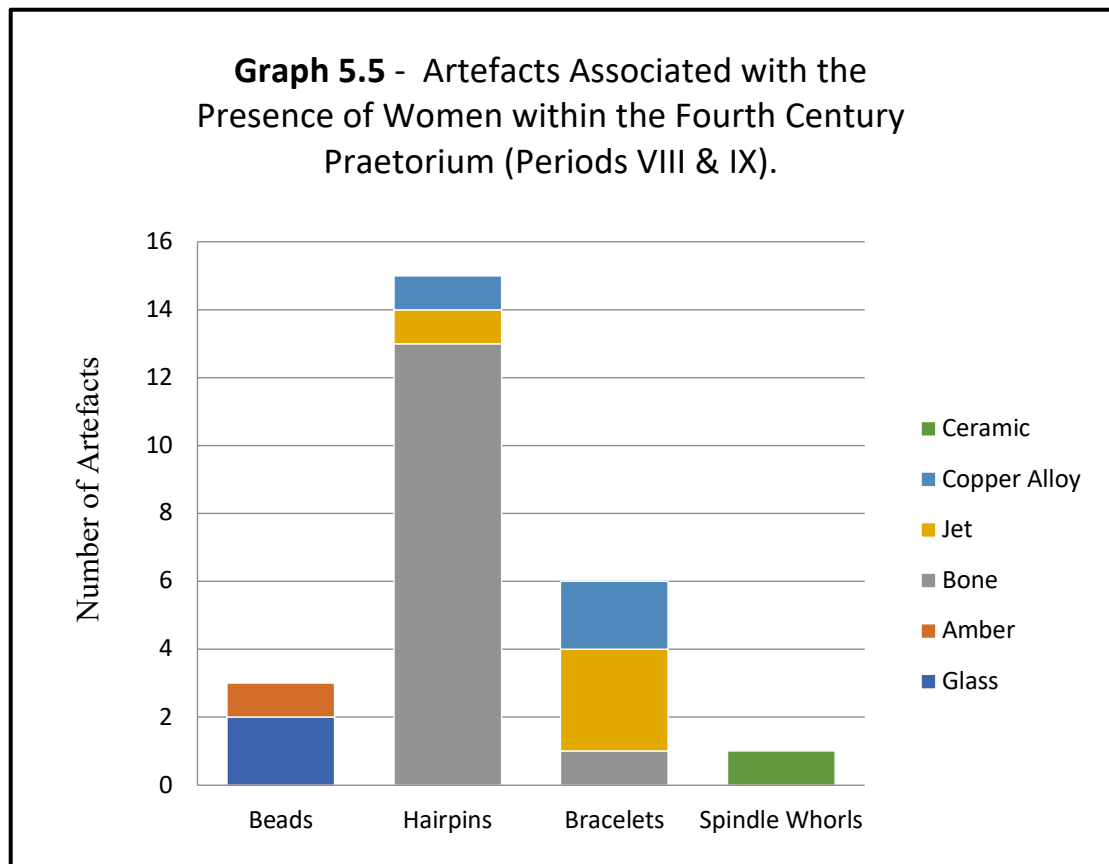
Figure 5.39 Plan of the Periods VIII and IX *praetorium* of Vindolanda with those artefacts associated with the presence of women with find locations labelled. The solid black lines denoting the location of excavated structures and hollow black lines denoting the estimated location of the structures remaining walls (adapted from Birley *et. al.*, 1999: 9, fig. 5).

It is clear the presence of women within the building was substantial from the number of 'female' artefacts found. Although most of the artefacts find locations are unknown, the presence of women in Rooms I, II, III, IV/V, XIV and the within the Latrine is suggested by the hairpins, bracelets, and beads found within those areas (see Fig. 5.39). These artefacts would suggest the presence of women was more

extensive in the eastern wing of the *praetorium*. When comparing the suggested presence of women within the *praetorium* of the second stone fort during Periods VIII and IX, only the *praetorium* of the first timber fort during Period III matches it.

Without the find location of V.218, V.312, V.315, V.317-8, V.434-5, V.456-7, V.688, and V.691, their use is limited. What can be commented upon is the economic status that may be inferred about the women associated with these artefacts. For example, the artefacts of particular value in the 4th century *praetorium* data set of this study are the amber bead (V.688), the jet hairpins (V.446), and the three jet bracelet fragments (V.308, V.312, and V.318). Being found within a *praetorium*, it is likely members of the Commanding Officer's family owned the items of higher value made from amber and jet. Of the remaining artefacts, the value associated with the materials of which they were made of (ceramic, copper alloy, bone, and green glass, see Graph 5.5) is relatively low and hence, individuals of different economic statuses could have owned them. Therefore, most women within the average *praetorium* could have owned them including, for example, slaves, servants, and members of the Commanding Officer's family (Rushworth, 2009a: 300).

With one spindle whorl (V.218) found in the 4th century *praetorium*, the spinning of cloth seems to have remained to only a minimal extent. However, the number of artefacts associated with the personal adornment of women in the 4th century *praetorium* increased by 1.8 times from the Period VII *praetorium* (see Graph 5.4 and 5.5). Hence, the number of women suggested to be present in the 4th century *praetorium* is notably higher than the Period VII *praetorium*. It is possible that an increase in the presence of women was as a result of civilian relocation from the extramural settlement to within the fort after its abandonment. Alternatively, the increase in the evidence for the presence of women in the *praetorium* of Period VIII and IX from Period VII could be a result of the nature of the site's abandonment – items lost during occupation may not have been recovered if less care was given to the clear up before abandonment.



5.2.5.2.2 Granary Area

From the 4th century intramural settlement granary area (see Fig. 5.40), a total of 31 artefacts associated with the presence of women were found (see Graph 5.6). Of these, 25 are beads (V.811, V.813-822, V.824-826, V.828-833, V.840, V.844, V.846, V.854 and V.855), two are spindle whorls (V.258 and V.259), and four are bracelets (V.340, V.357, V.358, and V.359).

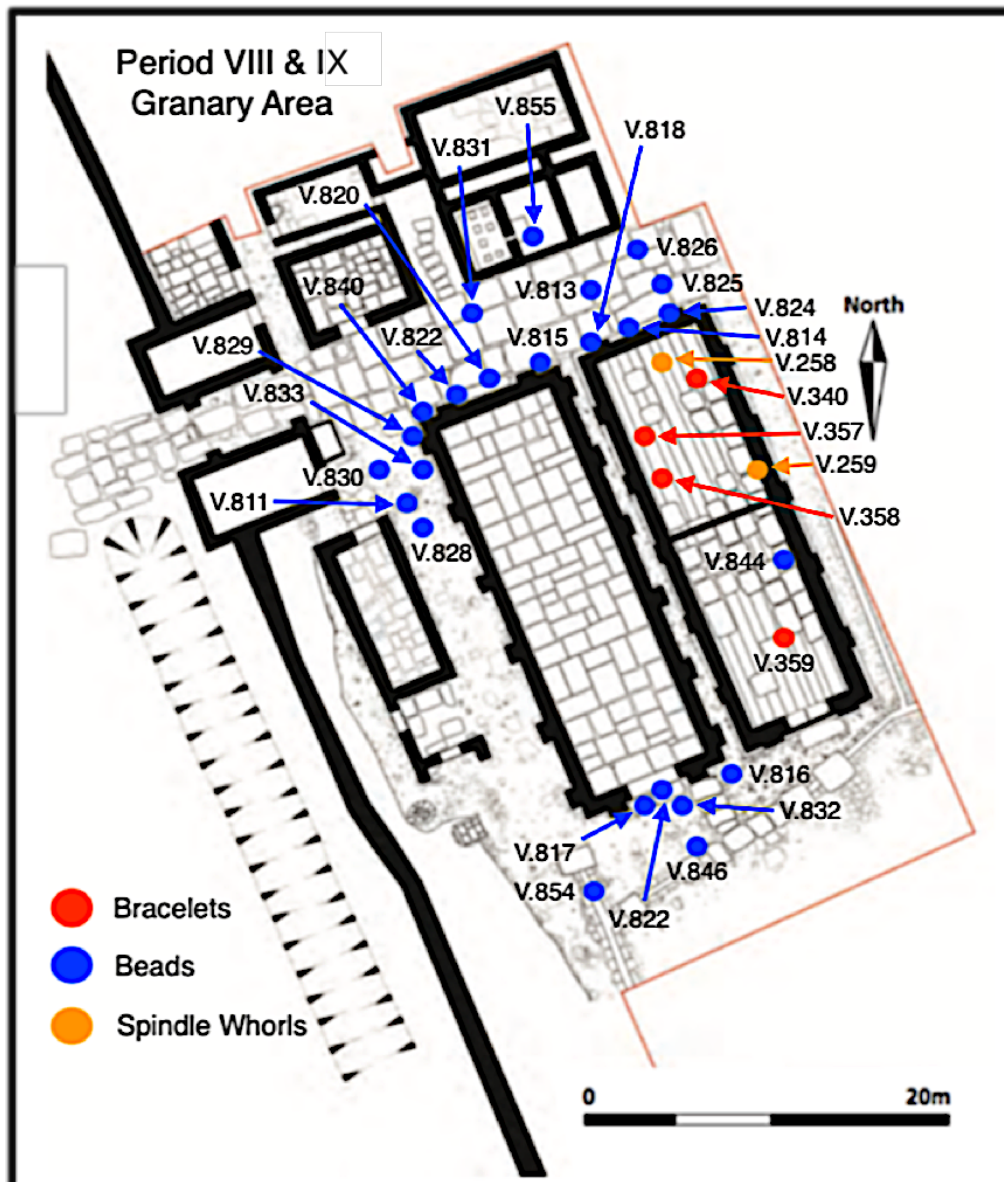
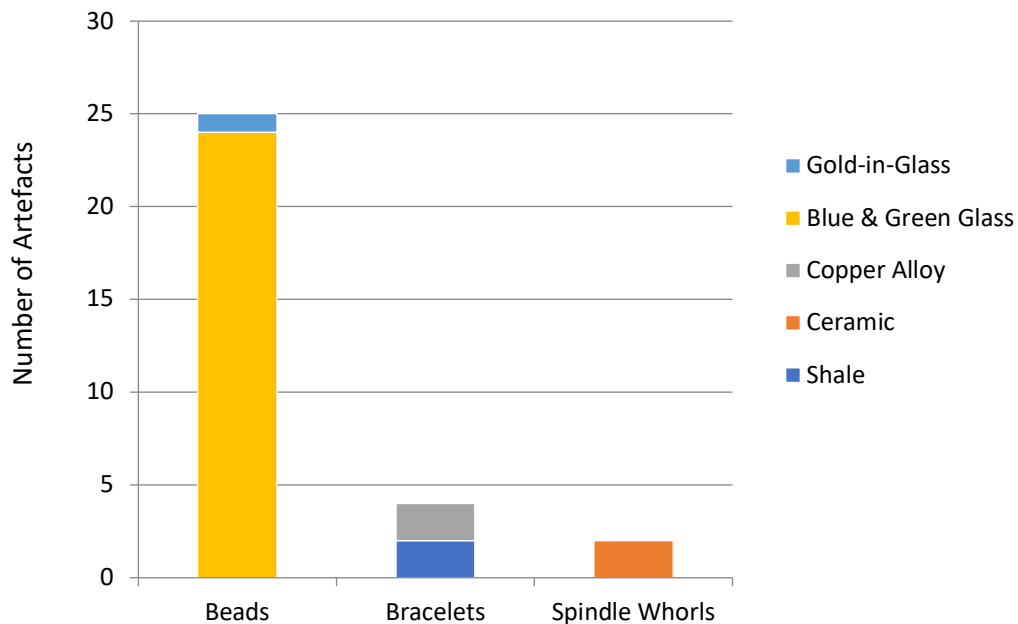


Figure 5.40 A plan showing the eastern granary, western store building, surrounding buildings, roads, and drainage system of the 4th century AD Vindolanda fort (adapted from Birley, 2013: 37, fig. 21).

Graph 5.6 - Artefacts Associated with the Presence of Women found in and around the Granaries of the period VIII and IX of Vindolanda Fort.



The majority of beads were found on the *via principalis* around the northern entrance points of the two buildings (see Fig. 5.40). The deposition of beads around the northern entrances of the eastern granary and western storehouse of the 4th century AD suggests a change in use (see Fig. 5.40). It is probable the eastern granary no longer solely stored grain but had a 'commercial or multi-functional space' (Birley, 2013: 44), at least within the northern half of the building where the spindle whorls (V.258 and V.259) and majority of bracelets (V.340, V.357, and V.358) were found. The spindle whorls could suggest the spinning and subsequent selling of cloth within the northern half of the building. The building's functional change is further supported by the deposition of almost 1000 coins in front of the eastern granary and western storehouse on the *via principalis* (Birley, 2013: 180). Furthermore, the north and south double doored entrances would have made for a 'large commercial space' (Birley, 2013: 44). Such a conversion of function in intramural buildings is also

exhibited in the transformation of granaries at the South Shields fort in its later periods to barrack blocks (Dore and Gillam, 1979: 41-53; Gardner, 2007a: 168)

As is shown in Figure 5.38, no evidence for the presence of women was uncovered from the western storehouse, and little evidence for how the building was used in the 4th century has been found. Hence, it can be speculated that it was used in a similar way to its eastern counterpart (Birley, 2013: 44). The likely reason for no artefacts associated with the presence of women being found in the western granary is because of the stone flagged floor (Birley, 2013: 27) – it would have been easier to recover any lost items and hence, fewer artefacts would be deposited. Compared to the eastern granary, coins were found to surround the building more completely with a cluster of six beads found outside the southern entrance (see Fig. 5.40). The coins and beads found around the western storehouse could suggest it was the focus of commercial activity within the fort (Birley, 2013: 44). A similar pattern of coins found around the *principia* of Carlisle suggests this change in intramural building function to being commercially focused at Vindolanda was not an isolated occurrence on Hadrian's Wall (Zant, 2009: 463).

The number of artefacts associated with the presence of women found the Granary area of Period VII increased from four to 31 in 4th century Granary area. This 7.75-fold increase is large and important, reflecting a change in the function of the Period VII Granaries, as well as the potential relocation of women from the abandoned extramural settlement to within the fort after roughly AD 270 (Bidwell, 1985: 88). Although the increase in the presence of women was not as drastic within the praetorium of the 4th century as the Granary Area, a trend seems to be occurring.

5.2.5.2.2.3 North East Quadrant

Within the north-east quadrant of the 4th century Vindolanda fort, the Officers' Quarters of the back-to-back double barrack block (Rooms IA and IB) were completely reconstructed at the start of the century (Bidwell, 1985: 69). The

partitions in Rooms IIA and IIIA of the western barrack block were demolished and similar partitions were constructed in their eastern counterparts – Rooms IIB and IIIB (see Fig. 5.36 And 5.41; Bidwell, 1985: 70). The ‘chalet’ style component of the barrack blocks remained into the 4th century with the Officers’ Quarters and double *contubernia* remaining detached (see Fig. 5.41; Birley, 2009: 152). The tentatively identified stables in the eastern rampart area of Period VII also remained in use through the 4th century AD (Bidwell, 1985: 74). The latrine on the north east angle of the fort walls remained in use through the 4th century until no earlier than roughly AD 370 (Bidwell, 1985: 46).

Within the north-east quadrant of the fourth century fort, 35 artefacts associated with the presence of women were uncovered. They are: 13 spindle whorls (V.196-202, V.205-208, and V.210-211); eight bracelets (V.294-297 and V.299-302); two hairpins (V.394 and V.396); and 12 beads (V.656-659, V.661-665, V.668-669, and V.672) – see Graph 5.7. Similar to the find locations of the artefacts used to show the presence of women from the Period VII *praetorium*, the exact find locations of the majority of artefacts from the 4th century AD north-east quadrant are unknown, however, the approximate locations of many are known²⁴. According to Birley (2010: 169 and 178) 12 of the 13 spindle whorls (V.197-202, V.205-208, and V.210-211) were found in the back-to-back barrack blocks as well as seven of the eight bracelets (V.295-297 and V.299-302) and both of the hairpins (V.394 and V.396). The remaining spindle whorl (V.294) and bracelet (V.196) were found within the latrine in the north east corner of the north east quadrant (see Fig. 5.41). The 12 beads (V.656-659, V.661-665, V.668-669, and V.672) are distributed between the barrack blocks and within the eastern rampart area just north of the stables building (see Birley, 2010: 191).

²⁴ Although Birley (2010: 169, 178, 183, and 191) has presented rough locations for the spindle whorls, beads, hairpins, and bracelets from the north east quadrant of the 4th century AD Vindolanda fort, upon further investigation this study has been unable to locate the information for the exact find spots of each artefact from the area (see also Bidwell, 1985).

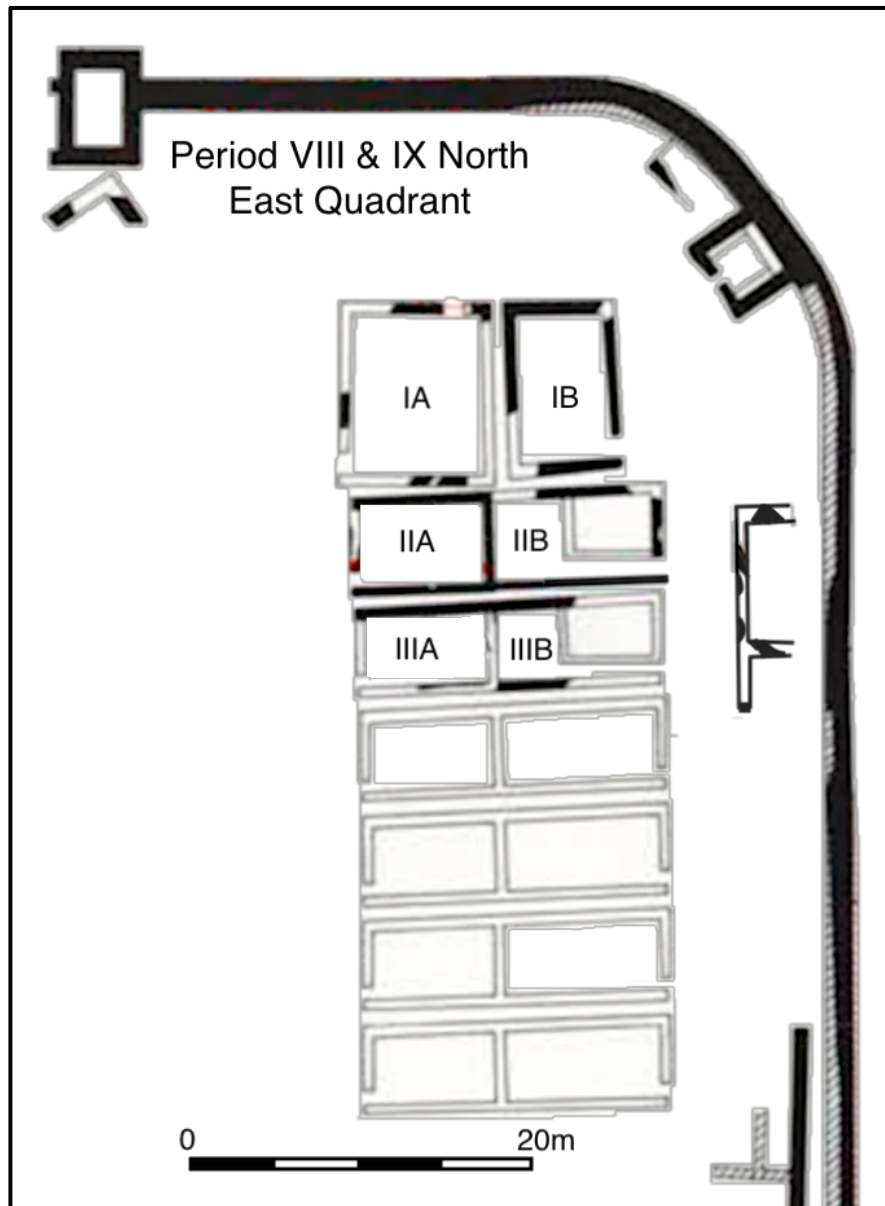
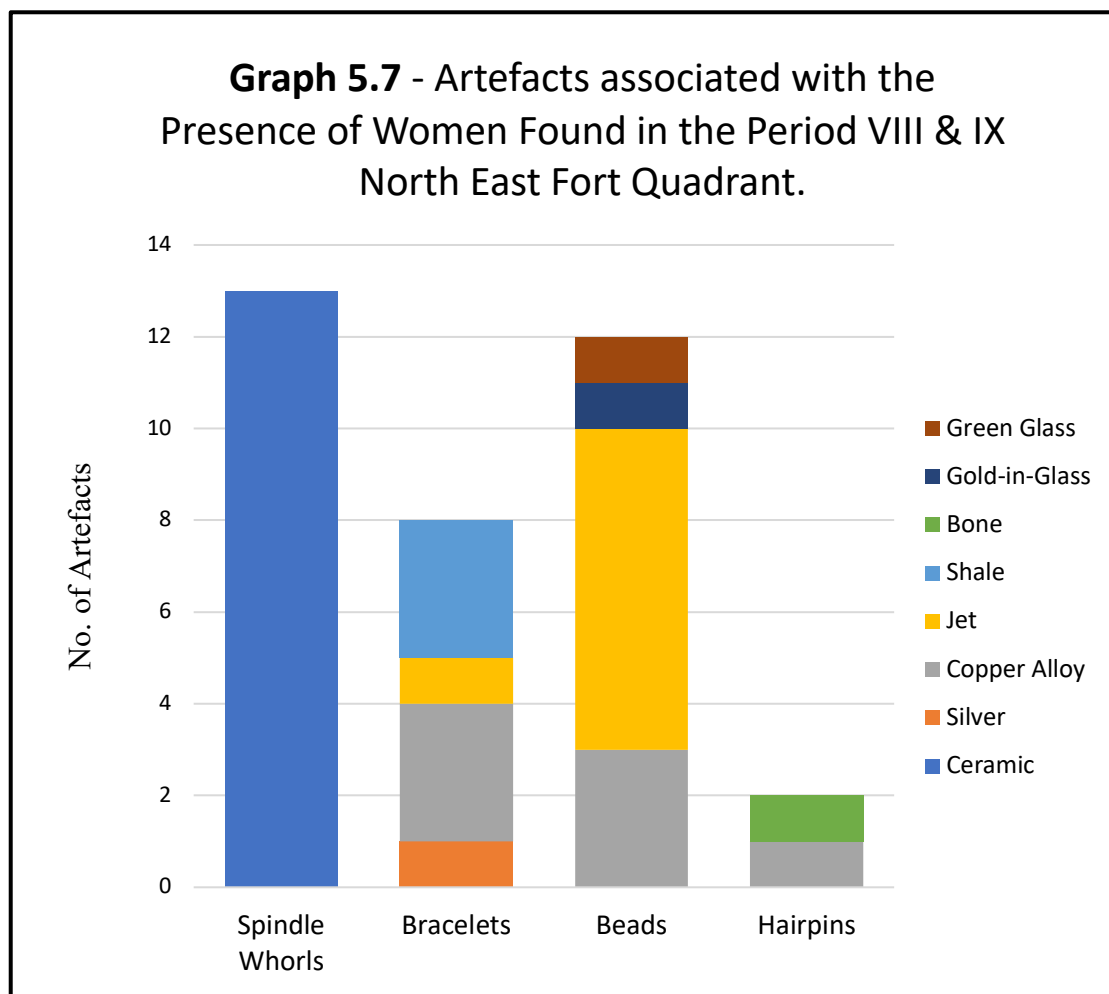


Figure 5.41 The 4th century AD north east quadrant of the Vindolanda fort. The solid black lines denoting the location of excavated structures and hollow black lines denoting the estimated location of the structures remaining walls (adapted from Bidwell, 1985, fig. 35).

The evidence from the north-east quadrant of the 4th century fort of Vindolanda suggests women were present within the eastern rampart area just north of the stables, within the latrine in the north east corner, and within the back-to-back

barrack blocks (see Fig. 5.41). The increase in the presence of women within the eastern rampart area from Period VII may indicate an increased use of the stables by women. This interpretation, however, is limited due to the lack of precise find locations of those artefacts from the eastern rampart area.

A notable change in the artefact assemblage of the 4th century north-east quadrant is the increased number of spindle whorls by 6.5 times from two in Period VII to 13 in the 4th century AD (see section 5.11.2.3 and Graph 5.7). As with the evidence from the *praetorium* and granary area of Periods VIII and IX, the number of artefacts associated with the presence of women could be an indicator of not the increase in the presence of women, but of the lack of care when clearing up before abandoning the site.



However, the increased number of spindle whorls found within the barrack blocks can suggest the spinning of cloth was being completed on a much larger scale than in Period VII. As well as the four-fold increase in the number of bracelets (from two to eight) and the three-fold increase of beads (from four to 12) found within the barrack blocks (see section 5.11.2.3 and Graph 5.7), this pattern suggests female and male cohabitation, or more specifically, a soldier and wife cohabitation (Welsby, 1982: 87-90). Another site where the cohabitation of men and women within barrack blocks is suggested is at Ellingen in Building B and C (Allison, 2013: 310).

Unlike the barrack block (Building XIII) of Housesteads (see Chapter 4.7.3), South Shields, Wallsend, and Greatchesters (Bidwell, 1991: 10-14; Bidwell and Speak, 1994; Curteis, 1988: 122; Daniels, 1980: 189-91; Hodgson & Bidwell, 2004: 134), the barrack blocks in the north-east quadrant of the Vindolanda fort did not undergo a transformation into a chalet style *contubernia* towards the end of the 3rd century. Instead, their back-to-back chalet style *contubernia* remained the same through Periods VII, VIII, and IX. Therefore, the idea that these chalet style barrack blocks were constructed to accommodate a female and male cohabitation (Welsby, 1982: 87-90) is not applicable to the second stone fort of Vindolanda. Perhaps the transformation of barrack blocks in Roman frontier forts into the chalet style is primarily dependent on alternative factors as opposed to the accommodation of women and families.

With two artefacts associated with the presence of women found in the Period VII and 4th century latrine, the presence of women is suggested to have remained approximately the same— two bone hairpins (V. 374 and V.375) in Period VII and a ceramic spindle whorl (V.294) and silver bracelet (V.196) in the 4th century. The value of the silver bracelet (V.294) suggests a relatively wealthy woman was present in the latrine of the 4th century. Similarly, although the gold-in-glass bead (V.688) and seven jet beads (V.657-659, V.663-665, and V.672) are without a precise find location, their value also suggests of the presence of relatively wealthy women (Allason-Jones, 1999: 142; Allason-Jones, 1995: 29).

5.2.5.2.2.4

Western Rampart Area

Evidence for the presence of women within the second stone fort during the 4th century AD (Periods VIII and IX) has been uncovered in the 2005 to 2006 excavations of the western rampart area. Within the western rampart area of the south west fort quadrant a new building consisting of two rooms was constructed above the remains of the two clay and stone-built ovens of Period VII (see Fig. 5.42; Birley and Blake, 2007: 42). The function of this rampart building is unknown although it is possible that with 34 square metres it was used for accommodation (Birley and Bidwell, 2007: 45). The toilet block towards the southern end of the rampart area was demolished in roughly AD 350 to make way for wall repairs (Birley and Blake, 2007: 45).

From the 2005 to 2006 excavations of the western rampart area 11 artefacts from the 4th century (Period VIII and IX) were found associated with the presence of women (Birley and Blake, 2007). They are a spindle whorl (V.237), three copper alloy bracelets (V.324, V.325, and V.332), three bone hairpins (V.465, V.470, and V.474), and four beads (V.741, V.794, V.797, and V.798) – see Fig. 5.42 and Graph 5.8. The spinning of cloth within the 4th century western rampart area is suggested to have been minimal with only one spindle whorl (V.237) uncovered. This is similar to the evidence for spinning cloth in Period VII – only one spindle whorl (V.234) was uncovered as well. Instead, the majority of artefacts from this area in both Period VII and the 4th century are related to the personal adornment of women.

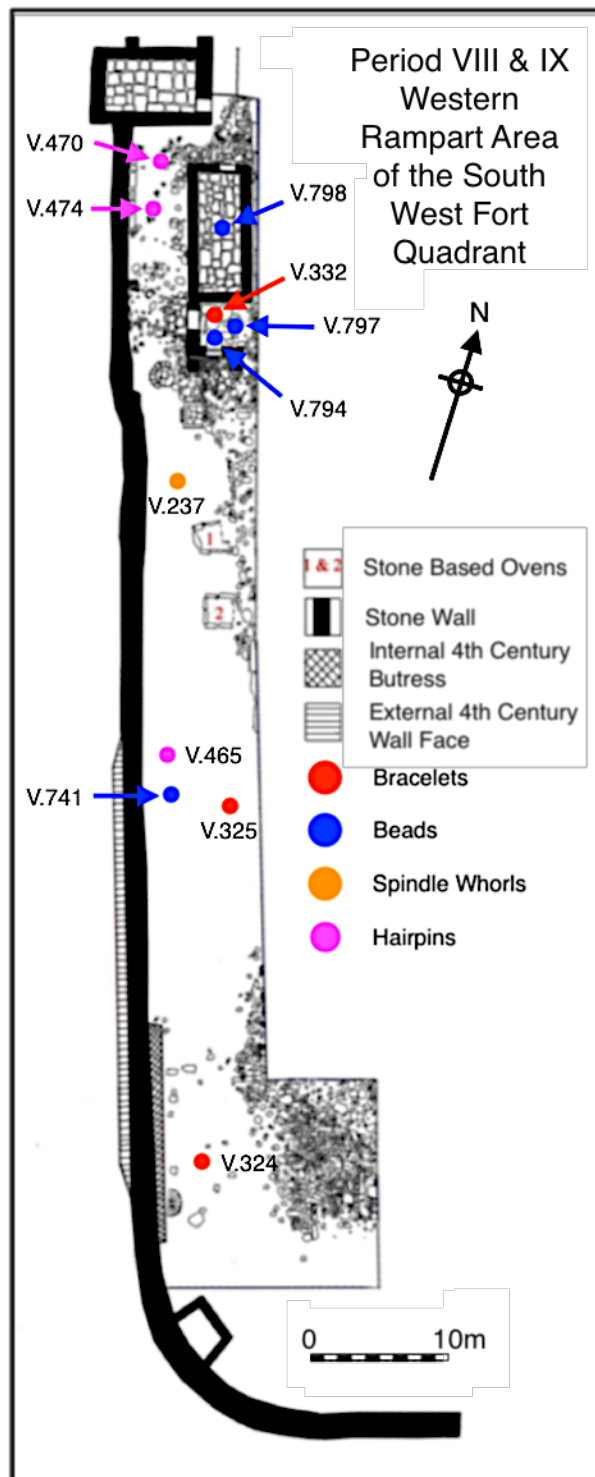
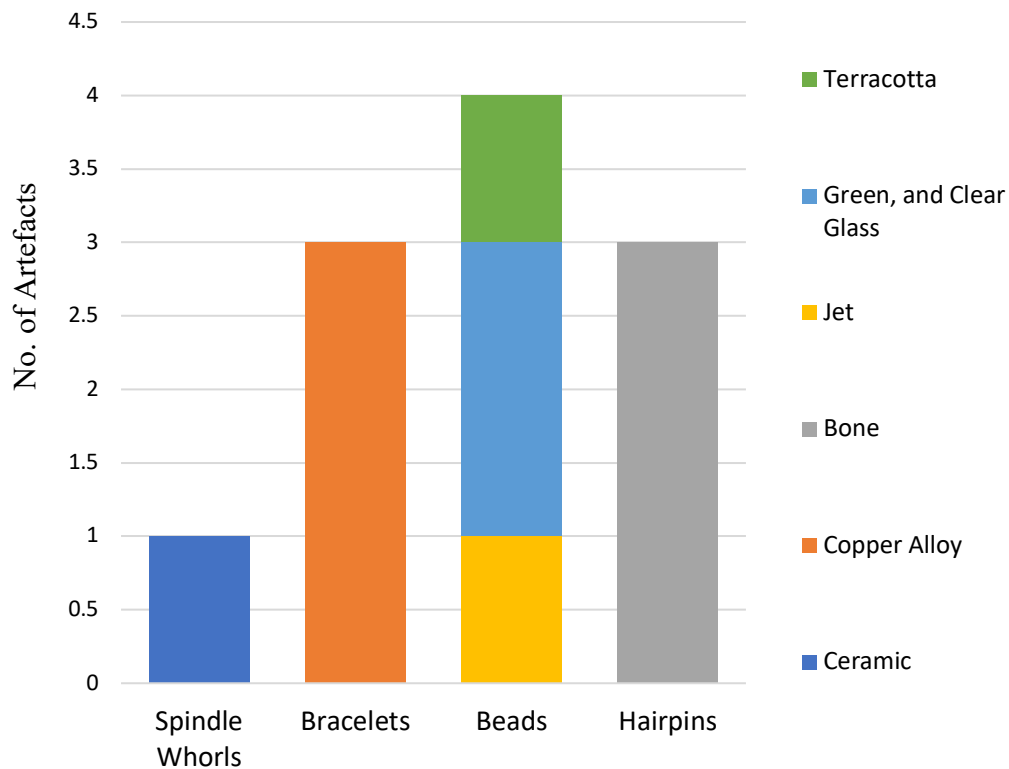


Figure 5.42 The Periods VIII and IX western rampart area excavated below the forts western gate (adapted from Birley and Blake, 2007: 44, fig. 53).

Graph 5.8 - Artefacts Associated with the Presence of Women Found in the Period VIII & IX Western Rampart of the South Western Fort Quadrant.



The distribution of artefacts within the western rampart area suggests women were present within the rampart building and particularly within the southern room (see Fig. 5.42). Although the presence of 3 beads (V.798, V.797, and V.794) and a bracelet (V.332) could suggest the habitation of women within the building, the number of artefacts present does not provide secure evidence to be confident of such a conclusion.

The value of the majority of artefacts found within the western rampart area suggests women of different socio-economical statuses could have owned them. The exception comes from the jet bead found (V.741). The value associated with jet

compared to bone, ceramic, terracotta, green and clear glass is higher and hence it is possible an individual of higher socio-economic status owned it (see Pliny, Nat. Hist. 37.12; Allason-Jones, 1999: 142; Allason-Jones, 1995: 29; Johns, 1996: 41).

Compared to the number of artefacts associated with the presence of women found from the Period VII western rampart area (see Fig. 5.37), the number of artefacts associated with the presence of women from the 4th century western rampart area increased by 2 to 11 (see Fig. 5.37 and Graph 5.8). This is consistent with the evidence for the presence of women at the northern rampart area (Area H20) of Housesteads fort – the number of artefacts associated with the presence of women increased from 3 in Period III to 10 in Period IV (see Graph 4.5). The increased number of artefacts associated with the presence of women from Period VII to Periods VIII and IX, albeit based on small numbers, is consistent with the findings of the *praetorium*, Granary area, and north east quadrant – the presence of women is suggested to have increased in the 4th century from Period VII.

5.2.5.2.2.5 Southern Rampart Area

Within the southern rampart of the fort's south-west quadrant a minimum of six structures were built in the 4th century AD (Blake, 2001: 1-4; see Fig. 5.43). The securely identified one is the firing platform which is attached to the fort wall in the middle of the rampart area (see Fig. 5.43). The presence of the firing platform provides an insight into the political climate of the time – the occupants of the 4th century fort of Vindolanda felt the need to protect themselves with a firing platform (Blake, 2001: 3).

From the 1999 to 2000 excavation of the southern rampart area of the fort south-west quadrant two ceramic spindle whorls (V.221 and V.222), one glass bead (V.902), and one bronze bracelet (V.901) was found dating to the fourth century (see Blake, 2001). Like the evidence from the southern rampart area of Period VII, the

exact find locations of the 4th century AD artefacts are unknown and therefore limit any in-depth interpretation for the presence of women in the area (see Blake, 2001).

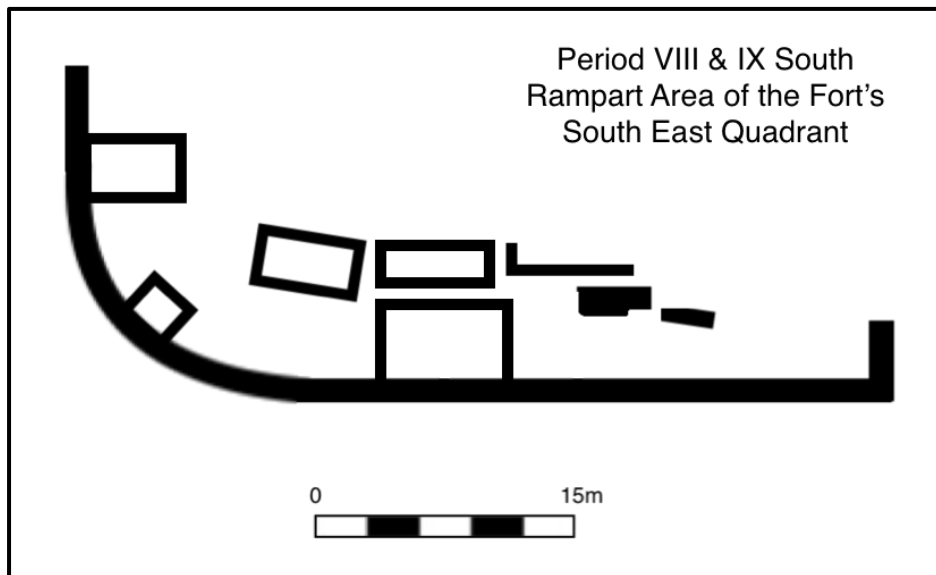


Figure 5.43 Plan of the Period VIII and IX (4th century) rampart area of the south west fort quadrant (adapted from Bidwell, 1985, fig. 35).

What can be said about the presence of women in this area is that the small number of artefacts suggests women were not present extensively. Also, because of the value associated with the materials of which the two ceramic spindle whorls (V.221 and V.222), glass bead (V.902), and bronze bracelet (V.901) are made of, their owners could have been of different economic statuses.

The spinning of cloth is suggested to have been undertaken in the southern rampart area of the 4th century fort from the presence of the two ceramic spindle whorls (V.22 and V.222). This is in contrast to evidence from the same area during Period VII where no spindle whorls were found. Alternatively, those spindle whorls found in the southern rampart area of Periods VIII and IX may have been lost while their owners were travelling. The overall evidence for the presence of women increased by a small amount from two artefacts in Period VII to four artefacts in the 4th century

AD (see section 5.11.2.4, 5.12.2.4 and 5.11.2.5). Hence, although the increase in the suggested presence of women from Period VII to the 4th century AD is small in the southern rampart area, it is consistent with the pattern that has emerged from the other areas of the fort analysed.

5.2.6 Funerary Evidence for the Presence of Women

Ten tombstones or fragments have been found at Vindolanda and like the tombstones from Housesteads, they are all disconnected from burial context (Collingwood, 1995; Tomlin, 2009). Of the sexed tombstones, the ratio of females to males is even. Three are dedicated to males (V.1, V.2, and V.8), two of whom are soldiers (V.1 and V.8); three are dedicated to women (V.3-5); and four to unknown individuals (V.6-7 and V.9-10). Of the 10 tombstones only two have human imagery both depicting females (V.4 and V.5). The three tombstones dedicated to women (V.3, 4.5, and V.5) and one tombstone commemorated by a woman (V.1) are analysed below.

5.2.6.1 Tombstone V.1

Found in the debris of the fort's East Gate in 1818, tombstone V.1 (see Fig. 5.44) commemorates a male soldier, Cornelius Victor, and mentions his wife of unknown name. The Latin inscription and English translation is below.

Inscription V.1

D(is) M(anibus) | Corn(elius) Victor s(ingularis) c(onsularis) |
mil(itauit) ann(os) XXVI ciu(is) | Pann(onius) fil(ius) Saturni | ni p(rimi)
p(ilaris) uix(it) an(nos) LV d(ies) XI | coniux procuraui

To the spirits of the departed; Cornelius Victor, *singularis consularis*, served for 26 years, a Pannonian tribesman, son of Saturninus, a senior centurion, and lived for 55 years, 11 days. I, his wife, had this set up.

(RIB. I. 1713 or Collingwood, 1995: 539)



Figure 5.44 Drawing of the tombstone V.1 found in 1818 incorporated in the east gate of the Vindolanda Roman fort commemorating Cornelius Victor a *singularis consularis* and commissioned by his wife (Collingwood, 1995: 539; RIB 1713).

The tombstone is dated between AD 101 and AD 300 by Cowey (2017c) hence it belongs between Periods III to VII (c. AD 100-300, see Table 5.1). The inscription informs us that Cornelius Victor was a ‘Pannonian²⁵ tribesman’ (see Inscription V.1). It is possible his wife was also of Pannonian origin, but it is uncertain. The tombstone demonstrates that wives were relied upon to commemorate husbands. The inclusion of certain pieces of information can be seen as the wife trying to bring her husband honour in death, for example, that he served for 26 years and was a *singularis consularis*. The importance of commemorating her husband may have been that the memory of him may have been useful for her continuing life as she is brought honour through his honours. Little else is known about Cornelius Victor’s wife hence further interpretation is limited.

5.2.6.2 Tombstone V.3

Only slightly more information is known about the female commemorated in V.3 (see Fig. 5.45) than V.1. The Latin inscription on the tombstone V.3 along with the English translation is listed below.

Inscription V.3

D(is) [M(anibus)] | Aurel[ia ...] | ia uixit [an] | nos XX filia[e] |
 Aur(elius) Luc[...]

To the spirits of the departed; Aurelia ... lived 20 years: Aurelius Luc[...]
 ... [set this up] to his daughter.

(RIB. I. 1715 or Collingwood, 1995: 539)

²⁵ Pannonians were from the region of Pannonia which was made into a Roman province situated in much on the modern-day Hungary (Draganescu, 2013: 16).



Figure 5.45 Drawing of a fragment of a tombstone (V.3) found in 1830 at the Vindolanda Roman fort commemorating a daughter (Collingwood, 1995: 539; RIB 1715).

The remaining inscription informs us that a woman aged 20 called Aurelia (V.3) was commemorated by her father commissioned the monument though there is no information about his profession. The height and width of the Tombstone V.3 are 46cm and 64cm respectively (Cowey, 2016a). Compared to the dimensions of Tombstone V.1 (height: 53cm and width: 66cm), it is likely that in their complete forms (see Fig. 5.44 and 5.45), Tombstone V.3 would have been larger possibly representing a wealthier owner and/or commemorator. Like V.1, Cowey (2016) dates V.3 to between AD 101 AD and 300 placing its origin to between Periods III and VII, present between the later years of the first timber fort and mid-way through the occupation of the second stone fort (c. AD 100-300, see Table 5.1).

Little can be discerned about Aurelia other than she was present at Vindolanda anywhere from Periods III to VII. It is possible Aurelia was attached to a military garrison or was present as a merchant or slave, however, these are speculative suggestions only. Furthermore, tombstone V.3 provides information about the presence of certain women that artefacts cannot – it shows that not only women

belonging to the Commanding Officer's family, concubines, prostitutes, and slaves were present at Housesteads, but daughters and generations of women as well.

5.2.6.3 Tombstone V.4

Another of the female tombstones (V.4) is attributed to a female of unknown age called Flavia Emerita and also contains a relief sculpture (see Fig. 5.46). The translation of what remains of the tombstone's Latin inscription is written below with English translation.

Inscription V.4

D(is) M(anibus) | Fla(uia) Emeri|t(a) Fl(auius) In[... | N[...

To the spirits of the departed; Flavia Emerita; Flavius ...

(RIB. I. 1716 or Collingwood, 1995: 540)

A portion of the inscription is missing from the tombstone's bottom right corner providing only the name of the commemorated woman (see Fig. 5.46). Cowey (2016b) dates this tombstone to between AD 201 and AD 300 placing its origin from between Periods VIA and VII (see Table 5.1). This suggests Flavia Emerita was present at Vindolanda during either Periods VIA, VIB, and/or VII. The dimensions of the tombstone are: height 69cm, width 56cm, and depth 18cm (Cowey, 2016b). The size of the tombstone as well as the inclusion of imagery, compared to V.1 and V.3, suggests Flavia Emerita of V.4 was wealthier than the woman commemorated in V.3 and the female commemorator of V.1.

The image above the inscription (Fig. 5.46) is of a woman's head and torso. The degraded nature of the tombstone does not allow for the extraction of any minute detail; therefore, the inclusion of worn jewellery is unknown. The wrinkled facial

features of her cheeks give her the appearance of an elderly woman suggesting Flavia Emerita was of an advanced age. On the other hand, those facial features may be the result of poor craftsmanship and or degradation. She is portrayed with a ribbed hairstyle which would have likely formed into a bun on the back of her head similar to the imagery on Regina's tombstone (see Carroll, 2012: 283) and on a 2nd century tombstone from Carlisle (see Coulston & Phillips, 1988: 167-8, plate 111).



Figure 5.46 Drawing of the tombstone V.4 found around 1830 from at the Vindolanda Roman fort. The tombstone commemorates a female called Flavia Emerita. (Collingwood, 1995: 540; RIB 1716)

From what can be seen of the clothing, the rendering seems to be rough and with thick folds possibly trying to portray a thick overcoat, similar to the clothing depicted

on the 2nd century tombstone from Carlisle (see Coulston & Phillips, 1988: 167-8, plate 111). However, it is difficult to draw similarities between the clothing depicted on tombstone V.4 and the clothing on other tombstones because of the condition of tombstone V.4. With some imaginative thinking, it could be seen as similar to a plethora of female funerary portraits.

The presence of what can be assumed as an attempted physical representation of Flavia Emerita prompts questions about its inclusion. Could it have been present because she was a recognised figure in the community which may explain better how it was afforded? Perhaps if the whole inscription was present there may have been more of a clue, but presently approximately half remains and it is only possible to speculate.

In summary, Flavia Emerita likely looked similar to the imagery on her tombstone, she was likely wealthier than the commemorated and commemorators of tombstones V.1 and V.3, she was potentially advanced in age, and she was present at Vindolanda during either Periods VIA, VIB, and/or VII. Tombstones V.1, V.3, and V.4 serve as a reminder of the generations and variety of women present at Vindolanda which is not suggested through the artefacts found.

5.2.6.4 *Tombstone V.5*

Tombstone V.5 also has a relief sculpture, but even less of an inscription than tombstone V.4 providing only a section of a feminine name: '...iklio' (see RIB 1717). What remains of the Latin inscription is translated below.

Inscription V.5

[...] LMIN | [...] IKLIO | [...

]iklio

(RIB. I. 1717 or Collingwood, 1995: 540)

Like V.4, the tombstone V.5 depicts a female and it dated to between AD 201 and AD 300 by Cowey (2016c), therefore belonging to Periods VIA to VII (see Table 5.1). Hence, the commemorated woman was likely present at Vindolanda during either Period VIA, VIB, and VII – similar to Flavia Emerita (see section 5.6.2.3). The tombstones height is 0.89m and width is 0.64m (Cowey, 2016c). Compared to Emerita's tombstone (V.4), the dimensions of tombstone V.5 suggest the commemorator and commemorated were wealthier than the commemorator and commemorated of tombstone V.4.

Although the tombstone is believed to be dedicated to a female through the feminine name '...iklio' (RIB 1717), there is some ambiguity about the attributed sex. The depiction of the individual (Fig. 5.47) has both feminine and masculine features: the hair is distinctly feminine, but the clothes are more masculine. The hair is similar to that depicted on V.4 with it being pulled back loosely behind the head (Fig. 5.47). The garments adorning the individual's torso are associated more closely with men than women because of the presence of a brooch in front of the right clavicle (Fig. 5.47; RIB 1717). The clothing may demonstrate the looseness of the gender identities of clothing at Vindolanda. Hence, those tombstones with depictions (V.4 and V.5) provide an insight into how those women being commemorated may have appeared. The imagery of tombstone V.5 is also useful for showing the difficulty that can arise from identifying individuals according to dress and hair as well as suggesting the presence in overlaps of female and male dress.



Figure 5.47 Drawing of the tombstone V.5 from Vindolanda Roman fort found in 1830 commemorating a what is thought to be a female (Collingwood, 1995: 540; RIB 1717).

In summary, four women are shown to have been present at Vindolanda from the tombstones V.1, V.3, V.4 and V.5. One woman was a wife of a '*singularis consularis*' present at Vindolanda between Periods III and VII (the commemorator of V.1). Another was a daughter called Aurelia aged 20 present at Vindolanda between Periods III and VII commemorated by her father. The time period the wife of a '*singularis consularis*' (tombstone V.1) and Aurelia (tombstone V.3) are suggested to be present places them at the site between the time of the first timber fort and the second stone fort (c. AD 100-300). The other two women commemorated at the site: 'Flavia Emerita' (Tombstone V.4) and '[i]iklio' (tombstone 4.5) are dated to be present at the site at a more certain time – between roughly AD 165 and AD 300. The tombstones do not include any mention of the garrison of the fort – such data would have been very useful for providing a more precise date of when the women

of tombstones V.1, V.3, V.4, and V.5 were present at Vindolanda. As it is, such information can only be speculated with the present amount of data.

5.3 Summary

Periods II, III, IV, V, and VIB provide only enough information to analyse the socio-spatial distribution of women on a household level, whereas Periods VII, VIII, and IX provide enough information for a site-wide analysis of the socio-spatial distribution of women. Evidence from the earlier Periods originate from very few areas, whereas the extensive excavation across the site of the second stone fort (Periods VII, VIII, and IX) allows for site-wide analyses of the later periods. The tombstones V.1, V.3, V.4 and V.5, as well as the tablets of Lepidina and the wife of Priscinus provide information, albeit of a relatively small amount compared to Lepidina, about five particular women at Vindolanda.

Little can be said about the identities of women from Period II. The bone bead (V.21) and mirror fragment (V.24) uncovered from Period II suggest women were present within rooms G/F and using the water tank (Room L) – see Fig. 5.13. Furthermore, found within a *praetorium*, the owners of those artefacts are uncertain and hence could have potentially been members of the Commanding Officer's family, household slaves and servants.

Similar to Period II, the limited geographical spread of evidence from Period III has limited what can be said about women present during the Period to within a specific building: the Period III *praetorium*. Within 19 artefacts associated with the presence of women being found among eight rooms/areas of the *praetorium* (see Fig. 5.18), women are suggested to be present in much of the building. The value associated with many artefacts suggests many could have been owned by slave or servants, the presence of which is very likely (Hassall, 1999: 35). However, although the presence of many women of varying socio-economic status is suggested in the artefact

assemblage of Period III, the identity of one woman in particular is highlighted: Lepidina.

The letters to Lepidina provide the greatest insight to any one individual's social activities and lifestyle at Vindolanda. No other piece of archaeological evidence at the site offers the same level of information regarding the day-to-day lifestyle. They portray Lepidina as having a fairly sociable, unworried lifestyle. Tablet 1 and 2 show Lepidina had a friend of a similar social standing (Claudia Severa, the wife of Aelius Brocchus the Commanding Officer at Briga) and met for social occasions such as birthdays (see Tablet 1 and Tablet 2). This would certainly fit with the events of the time – the Roman army was withdrawing from Scotland, so the frontier would have been many miles north of Vindolanda fort. This may have been a factor in her social activities.

Furthermore, with the knowledge of the existence of the Commanding Officer's wife within the Period III *praetorium*, items of particular value found can be linked to her more directly further detailing who she was. For example, the hair moss wig (V.124) is an item of undoubted value which likely belonged to her and hence it may be suggested that perhaps Lepidina suffered from some sort of hair loss. Furthermore, the open-toed women's sandal of particular craftsmanship (V.131) likely belonged to Lepidina because of its associated value. The contexts in which this shoe could be worn also need to be considered – in the harsh environment of northern England such an impractical shoe would have only be worn inside, likely on heated surfaces, such as within the *praetorium*. Hence, out of all the women analysed in this study and indeed from the region of Hadrian's Wall, the life of Lepidina is best known.

Lepidina may not have been the only women's name we know from Period III. Two more women may have been present at Vindolanda during this time: a young woman aged 20 called Aurelia, and the wife of a *singularis consularis* (see V.3 and V.1 respectively). The erection of the tombstone commemorating Aurelia (V.3) and the wife of the *singularis consularis* (V.1) is dated to between Period III and Period VII making their period of provenance ambiguous.

From Period IV the evidence for the presence of women used in this study is limited to a single structure, a barrack block. The evidence for the presence of women within the structure suggests cohabitation among soldiers and women was occurring in the form of camp concubinage in rooms III, IV, and XV (see Fig. 5.21; van Driel-Murray, 1995: 16). This is supported by the fort of Ellingen where evidence of male and female cohabitation is exhibited in barracks blocks B and C (see Allison, 2013: 310). Hence, as early as AD 105-120 evidence suggest women resided within barrack blocks of forts in the region.

The evidence for the presence of women from Period V comes from a *fabrica* and suggests a similarly small presence of women. This is also shown in the distribution of artefacts associated with women within the Period VII extramural settlement – a limited female presence is exhibited in and around the industrial buildings (see Fig. 5.29, 5.30, 5.31, 5.32, and 5.33). Furthermore, the workshops in the northern rampart area of Housesteads Fort (Area H20), albeit of a smaller size, exhibit similar artefact assemblages with few artefacts associated with women being found. This begs the question of whether women were participating in activities within such androcentric environments.

Like the evidence used in this study for Periods IV and V, the artefacts associated with the presence of women in Period VI suggests women were at one point near the western defensive ditch in Period VI (see Section 5.2.4.1). The three amber beads (V.18-20) dating to Period VI suggest relatively wealthy women, such as traders and member of the Commanding Officer's family, were present near the western defensive ditch of the Periods fort (see Pliny, Nat. Hist. 37.12; Allason-Jones, 1999: 142; Allason-Jones, 1995: 29; Brown and Henig, 1977; Calvi, 2005). The presence of the artefacts used in this study from Period VI suggest a lack of restriction on the proximity of women to the defensive ditches of the fort. A similar environment likely existed in Period VII as a plethora of artefacts associated with women were also found within the fort western defensive ditch.

Similar to Period III, the evidence for the presence of women in Period VIB used in this study comes from the Period's *praetorium* (see Fig. 5.24). Possibly a wedding gift, the jet marital medallion (V.11) in particular has allowed for an interpretation of a particular woman, possibly a member of the Commanding Officer's family. The intricacy of the imagery on the obverse and reverse of the medallion provides the artefact with particular wealth and hence, it is likely it was owned by a member of the Commanding Officer's family. The cost associated with the intricacies and craftsmanship of the medallion suggests its owner was relatively wealthy and thus it is likely the owner was a member of the Commanding Officer's family. This combined with the medallion's imagery (a man and woman kissing) would suggest the owner was likely the Commanding Officer or his wife. If this was the case, the two individuals on the obverse could be depictions of the Commanding Officer and his wife showing what they may have looked like. Besides physical appearance, the medallion demonstrated a kind of affection that breaks the austerity of a military environment.

Two specific women are identified as being present at Vindolanda between the later years of Period VIA and the end of Period VII: Flavia Emerita (see V.5, section 5.2.6.4) and another with fragmentary name of '...iklio' (see V.4, section 5.2.6.3). There is an indication of what both of these women may have looked like on their tombstones (see Fig. 5.46 and 5.47). Furthermore, certain physiognomic qualities on the imagery of Flavia Emerita suggests she could have been of advancing age.

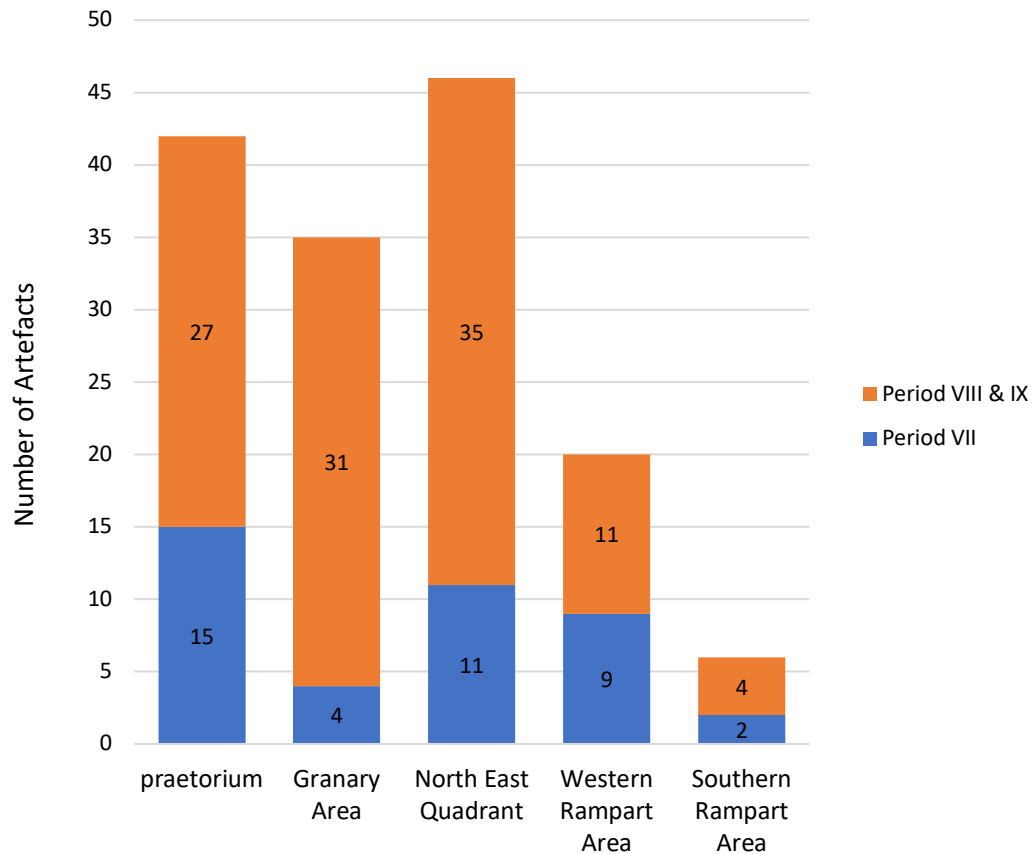
Evidence for the greatest number of women present in any one period belongs to Period VII. Artefacts associated with the presence of women were found across the extensively excavated extramural settlement and fort. Evidence from the extramural settlement suggests a relatively large number of women were spinning cloth across the extramural settlement within commercial, domestic, and industrial contexts (see Fig. 5.28). The majority took place in domestic and commercial contexts however (see Fig. 5.28). Their presence in domestic and commercial contexts is further suggested by the hairpins, beads, and bracelets found in such contexts (see Fig. 5.29, 5.30, and 5.31). Furthermore, it is highly likely that women

were also using the Bathhouse during Period VII due to the high number of artefacts associated with women (no=54) found there. Additionally, the presence of women in and around industrial buildings is noticeably smaller than the other building types. Hence, it is probable women were not involved in the activities completed in those buildings to the same extent as those completed in other building types, such as domestic and commercial.

Although the evidence for the presence of women in Period VII is primarily from the extramural settlement, evidence does suggest the presence of women in all of the areas analysed within the Period VII fort (praetorium, granary area, north east quadrant, and rampart areas of the south west quadrant). Evidence for the presence of women in the fort increased dramatically in many of these areas in Period VIII and IX of the 4th century AD, namely within the *praetorium*, granary area, and north east quadrant (see Graph 5.9).

It is likely that the increased presence of women within the fort was a result of their inhabiting space within the fort. Evidence from the fort's north east quadrant suggests women lived within the barrack blocks. This indicates a change in the buildings function from Period VII. As well as the barrack blocks of the north east quadrant, the function of the granaries also likely changed. The evidence discussed in this study suggests the space was transformed into a predominantly commercially focused space (Birley, 2013: 44). It is probable that the abandonment of the extramural settlement in roughly AD 270 (Bidwell, 1985: 88) is related to the increased presence of women within the fort in Periods VIII and XI. Such an increase in the presence of women within the fort soon after the abandonment of the extramural settlement (c. AD 280) is also exhibited at the fort of Housesteads in Building XIII (Allason-Jones, 2013: 71; Curteis: 1988: 117; see Chapter 4.9, Graph 4.9).

Graph 5.9 - Artefacts Associated with the Presence of Women Found within the Period VII and VIII & IX Vindolanda Fort.



It is unknown whether the drastic increase in the evidence for the presence of women from Periods VII to VIII and IX within the fort was affected by the abandonment of the extramural settlement in approximately AD 270 (Bidwell, 1985: 88). As well as this, knowledge of the socio-political climate of the Roman Empire at the end of the third century (see Chapter 3) may provide further insight into why such an increase in the presence of women occurred when it did. The establishment of the Carausius and Allectus separatist regimes and the military threats during the Tetrarchy (Todd, 2008: 398; Rushworth, 2009a: 298) are both likely to have required the relocation of troops from Vindolanda to other areas consequently freeing up space for civilians to occupy the fort – perhaps this allowed for women to inhabit the barrack blocks of the north east quadrant.

The following chapter will conclude the study with a discussion of how women were present at Housesteads and Vindolanda, to what extent they were present at the two sites, and what patterns in the presence of women at the two sites have emerged. The different evidence for the presence of women and where it was found at the two sites will be analysed. A pattern that has occurred at the two sites is the increase in the presence of women within the fort not long after the abandonment of the extramural settlements in the late 3rd century AD, and will also be discussed.

Chapter 6 Conclusion

6.1 Introduction

The presence of women at Housesteads and Vindolanda during their Roman occupation (c. AD 122/4-410 and c. AD 85-400 respectively) is based upon different types of evidence: artefacts associated with the personal adornment and dress of women; artefacts associated with spinning cloth and certain toiletry activities; tombstones; tablets; and skeletal remains. Tablets have only been used to suggest the presence of women at Vindolanda and skeletal remains have only been used to suggest the presence of women at Housesteads. Qualitative evidence has been used to identify particular women and quantitative evidence has demonstrated socio-spatial distributions in the collective presence of women at the two sites. Both have been used to inform an understanding of women's lives in these locations.

Similar studies have been carried out in other regions (see Allison, 2006; 2013; Thomas, 2000), and together, the data have provided an alternative interpretation and analysis of an existing dataset on a subject that has not yet been exhausted; specifically, the study of gender, and in particular the study of the presence of women. As a desk-based study, publications of archaeological excavation and fieldwork, as well as interpretative analysis of archaeological investigations have been utilised. The artefact catalogue made to assist the completion of this study has been compiled from excavation reports and publications both older and newer in date.

This chapter begins with the study's limitations (section 6.2). It will then return to the research question 'what can be said about the socio-spatial distribution and lives of women at Housesteads and Vindolanda during their Roman occupation?' and discuss what this study has uncovered. Section 6.3 will summarise and interpret the qualitative evidence for the presence of women through tombstones and tablets. Section 6.4 will review the results of the socio-spatial distribution of women and identify patterns in the artefacts associated the dress and personal adornment of

women and their activities. The chapter will conclude by discussing three possible directions for future research (section 6.5).

6.2 Limitations of the study

Limitations were present when assessing the extent of women present at Housesteads and Vindolanda. The main limitation of the study was the extent of excavations at both sites. Vindolanda has been far more extensively excavated than Housesteads and hence, the datasets are unequal – there is a far greater number with many more artefacts excavated from Vindolanda than from Housesteads (see Artefact Catalogue). This made problematic some direct quantitative comparisons between certain areas of Housesteads and Vindolanda. Hence, it was not possible to achieve an inter-site socio-spatial distribution analysis of the presence of women to the desired standard. Moreover, the difference in excavation extent presented limitations on what could be said about the lives of women within the fort and extramural settlements of Housesteads.

A second limitation of the study is a failing of the archaeological record with many artefacts from Housesteads recorded without contextual and depositional details – especially in the earlier excavations. The quality of data recording, especially in the case of small finds, is largely a result of the time in which those excavations took place. In the earlier part of the twentieth Century, it is likely that artefacts associated with the presence of women were not recorded with the same care as artefacts associated with the presence of men. At that time androcentric archaeologists with placed little importance was placed on the contributions to society made by women (Johnson, 2010: 127-8; Nelson, 1997: 88; Nielson, 1990: 8), and instead focused on finds of a military nature or official business. Therefore, if many of the excavations conducted at Housesteads, namely those of the two extramural settlement (see Birley et al, 1933; Birley and Charlton, 1934; Birley and Keeney, 1935: 230; Birley, 1962a: 119), the *praetorium* (Charlesworth, 1975), and the hospital (Charlesworth, 1976), were to be revisited in the 21st century, the dataset of Housesteads collected

by such revisiting's may provide a better insight into the presence of women at the site.

As Allison's (2013) study on the 5 Roman military sites in Germany highlights, the present study emphasises the necessity for meticulously collected and recorded small find data from excavations. A larger dataset for Housesteads would have balanced the analysis and the depth to which the analysis of the socio-spatial distribution of women could reach.

However, despite the study's limitations it has still been able to show the socio-spatial distribution of women on a domestic and site-wide scale and provide information about the lives of those individuals represented through socio-spatial distribution analysis. This study has also been able to provide information about the lives of women commemorated by tombstones and mentioned in tablets at Housesteads and Vindolanda between the period of AD 85 and AD 410. What is known about the lives of the women linked to the tombstones found at Housesteads and Vindolanda and the tablets found at Vindolanda will now be discussed in the following section (section 6.3).

6.3 Women linked to Tombstones and Tablets

The textual evidence used in this study is important as it provides information about the lives of women at Housesteads and Vindolanda in a way that no other published study has. Textual evidence, especially in the form of funerary inscriptions, has provided information, such as the age, sex, nationality, and place of origin, in a way that other types of archaeological evidence (i.e. artefacts) cannot or cannot with certainty. The textual evidence analysed in this study are six tombstones (two from Housesteads and four from Vindolanda) and five tablets (from Vindolanda).

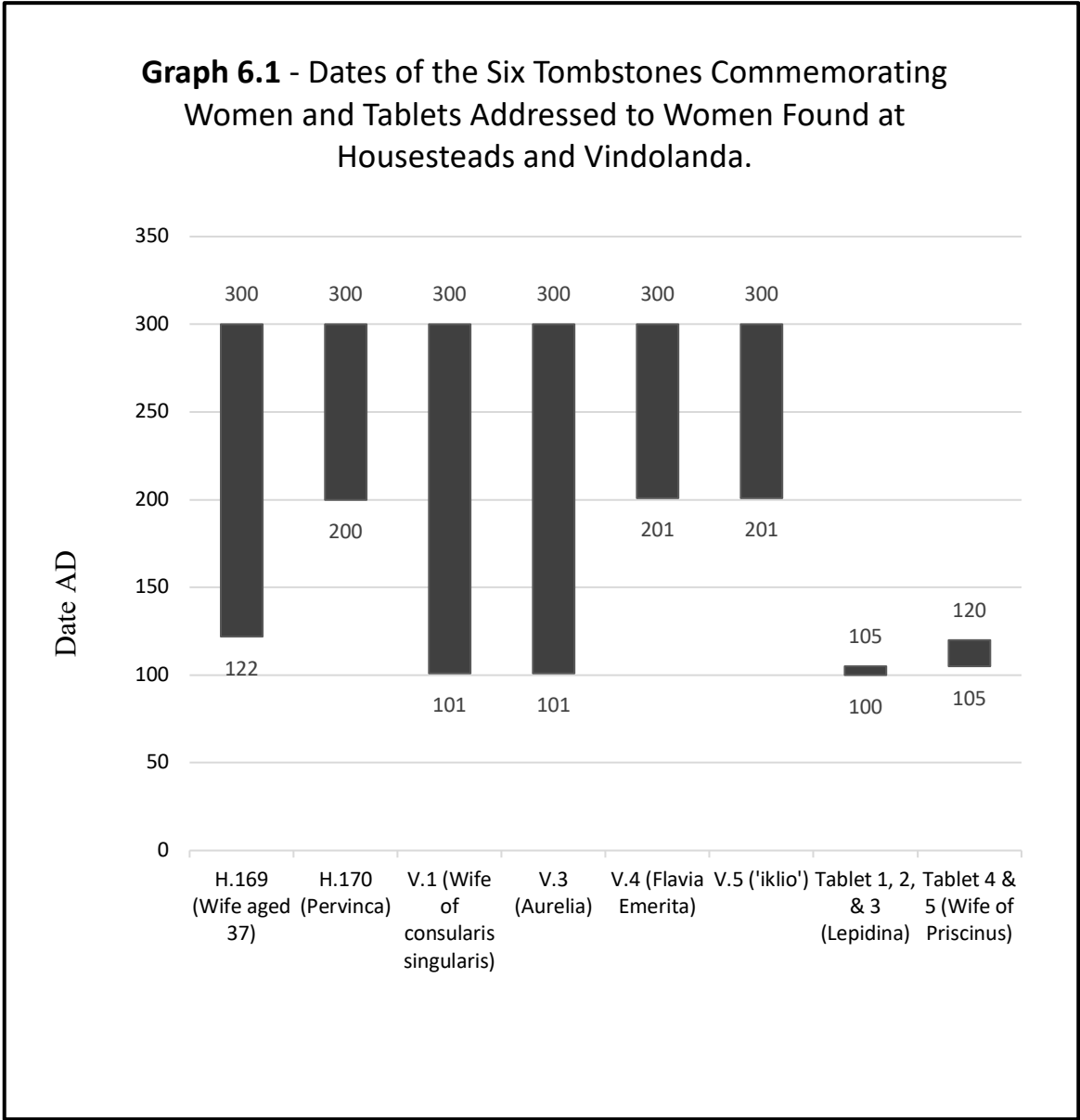
At Housesteads two women are commemorated through tombstones: a woman of unknown name aged 37 (H.145), and a woman named *Pervinca* (H.139). Both

tombstones are dated by Cowey (2017a; 2017b) to between approximately AD 122 and AD 300 placing them within the first three periods of Housesteads (see Table 6.1). Hence, those two women are suggested to be present at Housesteads between Periods V and VII of Vindolanda (see Table 6.1).

Table 6.1 – Periods of Roman Occupation at Housesteads and Vindolanda.	
Housesteads	Vindolanda
Period V (c. AD 400-410)	
Period IV (c. AD 300-400)	Period IX (c. AD 370-400)
	Period VIII (c. AD 300-370)
Period III (c. AD 290-300)	Period VII (c. AD 213-300)
Period II (c. AD 138-290)	
	Period VIA (c. AD 165-205)
	Period VI (c. AD 130-165)
	Period I (c. AD 122/4-138)
	Period IV (c. AD 105-120)
	Period III (c. AD 100-105)
	Period II (c. AD 92-100)
	Period I (c. AD 85-92)

Four tombstones commemorate women at Vindolanda (V.1, V.3, V.4, and V.5; see Chapter 6.1). Two (V.1 and V.3) are dated to be within AD 101-300 (Cowey, 2017c; 2016a) and the other two (V.4 and V.5) approximately AD 201-300 (Cowey, 2016b; 2016c). V.1 and V.3 commemorate the wife of a *consularis sigularis* and a 20-year-old named Aurelia which places their presence at Vindolanda to between Periods III and VII. Flavia Emerita is commemorated by tombstone V.4 and the woman named

‘...iklio’ is commemorated by tombstone V.5 placing their presence at Vindolanda between Period VIA and VII (see Table 6.1).



Although the age of Aurelia commemorated in tombstone V.3 and the women commemorated in tombstone H.145 are known, and the physiognomic qualities and personal appearance of Flavia Emerita (V.4) and ‘...iklio’ (V.5) is suggested on their tombstones (see Fig. 5.46 and 5.47), it is the life of Pervinca from Housesteads that is best known of all commemorated by tombstones. Present between approximately

AD 200 and AD 300 (Cowey, 2017b) Pervinca's name suggests that she was German in origin (Birley, 1980: 111; Woodcock, 2016: 34-5) potentially connecting her to the *cuneus Frisiorum* garrisoned at the site in the 3rd century AD (see Chapter 4, Table 4.1). She is also identified by Allason-Jones (2008: 286) as being an active member of the Housesteads community with the forethought to invest her money to maintain a guaranteed income through her membership in tontine. Out of those women commemorated by tombstones, Pervinca is the only one suggested to have been part of such an arrangement at Housesteads or Vindolanda. Others may have taken advantage of such a scheme but there is no evidence to suggest that they did.

Pervinca (H.139), Flavia Emerita (V.4), and '...iklio' (V.5) are suggested by Cowey (2016b; 2016c; 2017b) to have been present at Housesteads and Vindolanda between approximately AD 200/201 and AD 300 (between the second half of Period II and the end of Period III at Housesteads, and between the last years of Period VIA and the end of Period VII at Vindolanda – Table 6.1). These three women may have occupied Housesteads and Vindolanda at the same time as each other and during a historical period of extreme internal instability within the Roman Empire – with over 20 individuals recognised as Emperors/usurpers none of whom were able to establish a dynasty or introduce any political, financial, and military policies to positive effect between AD 235 and AD 284 (Cleary, 1990: 1; see Chapter 3 section 3.3.3). Hence, Pervinca was likely present at Housesteads and Flavia Emerita and '...iklio' were likely present during a state of political and hence, military instability.

With a longer period (c. AD 101/122-300) given to the presence of the three other women commemorated by tombstones (a wife aged 37 – H.145 at Housesteads), and the wife of a *consularis singularis* -V.1, and Aurelia – V.3 (both at Vindolanda), they could have been present at Housesteads and Vindolanda during the same time as Pervinca, Flavia Emerita, and '...iklio' during the 3rd century AD as well as throughout the 2nd century AD (see table 6.1). Moreover, if they were present during the 2nd century AD they would have lived through the significant historical events of the construction of Hadrian's Wall in roughly AD 122, and the construction and

abandonment of the Antonine Wall in approximately AD 142 and AD 165 respectively (Dumayne-Peaty, 1998: 208; Symonds, 2017: 116).

All six women may have been present at their respective sites during or just after the abandonment of the last extramural settlement - for Housesteads c. AD 280 (Allason-Jones, 2013: 71; Curteis: 1988: 117) and for Vindolanda c. AD 270 (Bidwell, 1985: 88). If this was the case, these women may have started to live within the fort if the abandonment of the extramural settlements was a cause of the increase in the presence of women within the forts from the 3rd century AD.

Compared to the tablets of Vindolanda, funerary inscriptions only provide a figurative 'skeleton' of information, whereas the tablets add 'flesh' with more depth and accuracy about the lives of certain women being offered. Although the lives of two women, Lepidina and the wife of Priscinus, are hinted in tablets, the life of Lepidina is far more detailed (see Chapter 5, Tablet 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5).

Tablets 1, 2, and 3 show Lepidina to be the wife of a Commanding Officer and places her at Vindolanda between approximately AD 100 and AD 105 during the reign of Trajan (Period III). Hence, it is possible that Lepidina, Aurelia, and the wife of the *consularis singularis* were present at Vindolanda during the same time period (see Graph 6.1). The letters to Lepidina (Tablets 1, 2 and 3) provide the greatest insight into any one woman's life at Housesteads or Vindolanda. They portray Lepidina as having a fairly sociable, unworried lifestyle. Tablets 1 and 2 show Lepidina had a friend called Claudia Severa of a similar social standing (wife of Aelius Brocchus the Commanding Officer at Briga) which she met on social occasions, such as birthdays. Lepidina would have been exchanging letters with Claudia Severa during a time when the Roman army was withdrawing south from Scotland to the Stanegate Road placing Vindolanda on the northern frontier from AD 105 (Hodgson, 2000: 11). With Lepidina's departure from the fort in approximately AD 105, she narrowly missed out on living on the frontier – perhaps her social life would have been very different if she had.

Unique items associated with women and of particular value found in the Period III *praetorium* can also be used to further understand what kind of life Lepidina led – assuming those artefacts belonged to her. For example, the hair moss wig (V.124) is an item of undoubted value and the open-toed women's sandal of notable craftsmanship (V.131) both likely belonged to a wealthy woman, such as Lepidina. If these items did indeed belong to Lepidina, they could suggest, in the case of the hair moss wig, that she suffered from some sort of hair loss, and in the case of the open-toed sandal, that she lived within a heated environment without the need for constant footwear protection – a must for the harsh conditions of northern Britain.

In summary, regarding the lives of particular women at Housesteads and Vindolanda, two stand out – Pervinca from Housesteads and Lepidina from Vindolanda. Both likely belonged to different socio-economic classes as Lepidina was the wife of a Commanding Officer (Bowman, 1994: 17) and Pervinca was a member of a tontine to ensure a guaranteed yearly income (Allason-Jones, 2008: 286). Lepidina had the wherewithal to live in relative luxury while *Pervinca's* tontine membership suggests she was worried about the longevity of her wealth. The examples of Lepidina and Pervinca show two different lifestyles of women at Roman military sites such as Housesteads and Vindolanda. This is not to say the lives of women varied from either that of Lepidina or that of *Pervinca*. In fact, the majority of women present at Housesteads and Vindolanda were not commemorated by funerary inscriptions. Instead, artefacts alone are the only means of illuminating their lives.

6.4 Socio-spatial Distribution of Women

The socio-spatial distribution analysis is dependent on the excavation history of Housesteads and Vindolanda. The scope of excavations at both sites differ (see Chapter 4.2 and Chapter 5.2), and the effects of this on the study will be discussed further in section 6.4. The discussion of the socio-spatial distribution of women at Housesteads and Vindolanda will be divided into three sections. The first (section 6.4.1), will provide a summary of where women are suggested to be present at both

Housesteads and Vindolanda. The second (section 6.4.2), will consider the dataset of both Housesteads and Vindolanda and how they compare. The third (section 6.4.3) will discuss a notable pattern in the socio-spatial distribution of women at Housesteads and Vindolanda.

6.4.1 *Where Women Were Present Summary*

At Housesteads the presence of women is suggested within the fort and extramural settlements. The small number of artefacts associated with the presence of women found within the first extramural settlement suggest women were present there within the 2nd and 3rd centuries (from Period I to III). The limited data that has been recorded from the excavation of the area (see Birley, 1961; 1962a) restricts what can be concluded about the women present there.

Similarly, from the 1931 to 1943 excavations of the second extramural settlement, only a limited amount of small find data was recorded (see Birley et al, 1933; Birley and Charlton, 1934). All artefacts associated with the presence of women found in the second extramural settlement were unstratified and hence a socio-spatial distribution analysis is not possible. Though lacking contextual information, the artefacts do suggest the presence of a small number of women at the very least. Hence, such items without contextual information can still signal the presence of women within the area.

The 1940s excavations of the second extramural settlement of Housesteads did, however, uncover one of the more distinctive pieces of archaeological data used in the study: the female skeleton buried in the Tavern (Building VIII of the second extramural settlement, see Fig. 4.3 and 4.11), which may have had a different function at the time of her internment – approximately between AD 300 and AD 368 (Birley et al., 1933: 88-90; Crow, 2004: 78). This would place the woman present at Housesteads during Period IV by which time the extramural settlement was considered abandoned (Allason-Jones, 2013: 71; Curteis: 1988: 117). This skeleton

suggests women were still present in the partially abandoned second extramural settlement after approximately AD 300.

An analysis of the socio-spatial distribution of women within the fort of Housesteads has been possible, albeit on a limited scale. Notwithstanding the excavation of the *praetorium*, hospital, and north east quadrant have been excavated (see Charlesworth, 1975; 1976; Rushworth, 2009a; 2009b), the level of small find recording was only sufficient to allow a detailed analysis of the presence of women in the north east quadrant.

Within the north east quadrant, the presence of women differed from area to area, and from period to period. The presence of women within Housesteads fort is first suggested in Period II (c. AD 138–290) within the Centurion's quarters of Building XIII (see Fig. 4.18) and within two of the three workshops in the northern rampart area, Area H20 (see Fig. 4.29). Within Period III (c. AD 290–300) women are suggested to have been present in the *contubernia* and Centurion's quarters of Building XIII (see Fig. 4.19), and within the interval tower and newly extended area of the northern rampart – Area H20 (see Fig. 4.30). Within Period IV (c. AD 300–400) women are suggested to have been present in both the *contubernia* and Centurion's quarters of Building XIII (see Fig. 4.20), Area HSE (see Fig. 4.25), and both inside and outside the interval tower in northern rampart area (see Fig. 4.31). Within Period V (c. AD 400–410) women are suggested to be present in the detached *contubernia* and Centurion's quarters of Building XIII (see Fig. 4.21), and within Area HSE.

At Vindolanda the socio-spatial distribution of women varies in scale from domestic to site-wide depending on the period. The presence of women in the first three timber forts (from approximately AD 85 to AD 130 – Periods I to V) can only be analysed on a domestic scale as very limited excavation of those periods has been achieved. This is because of the stone structures of the second stone fort above impeding the areas of excavations as well as the depth needed to reach them (up to 6 metres) and the constant wet conditions of the stratigraphy (VRR I: 11). The archaeology of the second stone fort (from approximately AD 213 to AD 400 – Period

VII to IX) however, was much easier to excavate and hence most of that fort has been excavated. This has allowed for the socio-spatial distribution of women to be analysed across the second stone fort and extramural settlement of the site (from approximately AD 213 to AD 400 – Period VII to IX).

No evidence suggests the presence of women at Vindolanda during Period I. Within the first timber fort during Periods II (c. AD 92-100) and III (c. AD 100-105) women are suggested to have been present in multiple rooms of the respective period's *praetorium* (see Fig. 5.13 and 5.18). Depending on the value associated with certain artefacts, those found in the *praetoria* of Period II and III likely belonged to members of the commanding officer's family, for example Lepidina in Period III, slaves and servants (Hassall, 1999: 35). Those artefacts are: beads (V.16, V.17, V.18, V.19, V.21), a mirror fragment (V.24), a bracelet (V.63), hairpins (V.26, V.27, V.28, V.29, V.30, V.31, V.32), earrings (V.62, V.64), footwear (V.130, V.131, V.136), a palette (V.128), a spindle (V.77), and a wig (V.124). Within the second timber fort (c. AD 105-120, Period IV) women's footwear suggest women were present in rooms II, IV, and XV of the excavated barrack-block in the capacity of soldier and civilian cohabitation (see Fig. 5.21; van Driel-Murray, 1995: 16). Within the third timber fort (c. AD 120-130, Period V) a hairpin (V.34), bracelet (V.70), and palette (V.127) suggest women were present within rooms 7 and 11 of the *fabrica* (see Fig. 5.23, chapter 5 section 5.2.3).

The evidence from the refuse ditch on the first stone fort during Period VI (c. AD 130-165) suggests little else besides that there was continuity in the presence of women at the site during Period VI (see chapter 5 section 5.2.4.1). Similar to Periods II and III, the presence of women is suggested in the Period VIB *praetorium* (see Chapter 5 section 5.2.4.2); within Period VII in the fort and extramural settlement; and inside the fort within the *praetorium*, the eastern granary, the barrack block and eastern rampart of the north east quadrant, and the rampart areas of the south west quadrant (see Fig. 5.34, 5.35, 5.36, 5.37, and 5.38).

Within the extramural settlement of Period VII women are suggested to be present within over 80% of all structures (see Fig. 5.30, 5.31, 5.32, and 5.33). Socio-spatial

distribution analysis places them in almost all commercial and domestic structures as well as within the Bathhouse (see Chapter 5.11.1). Women are suggested to have completed the spinning of cloth in both domestic and commercial structures (see Fig. 5.30), though with less evidence in and around industrial buildings (see Fig. 5.30, 5.31, 5.32, and 5.33), it is probable that women were not involved in these activities to the same extent.

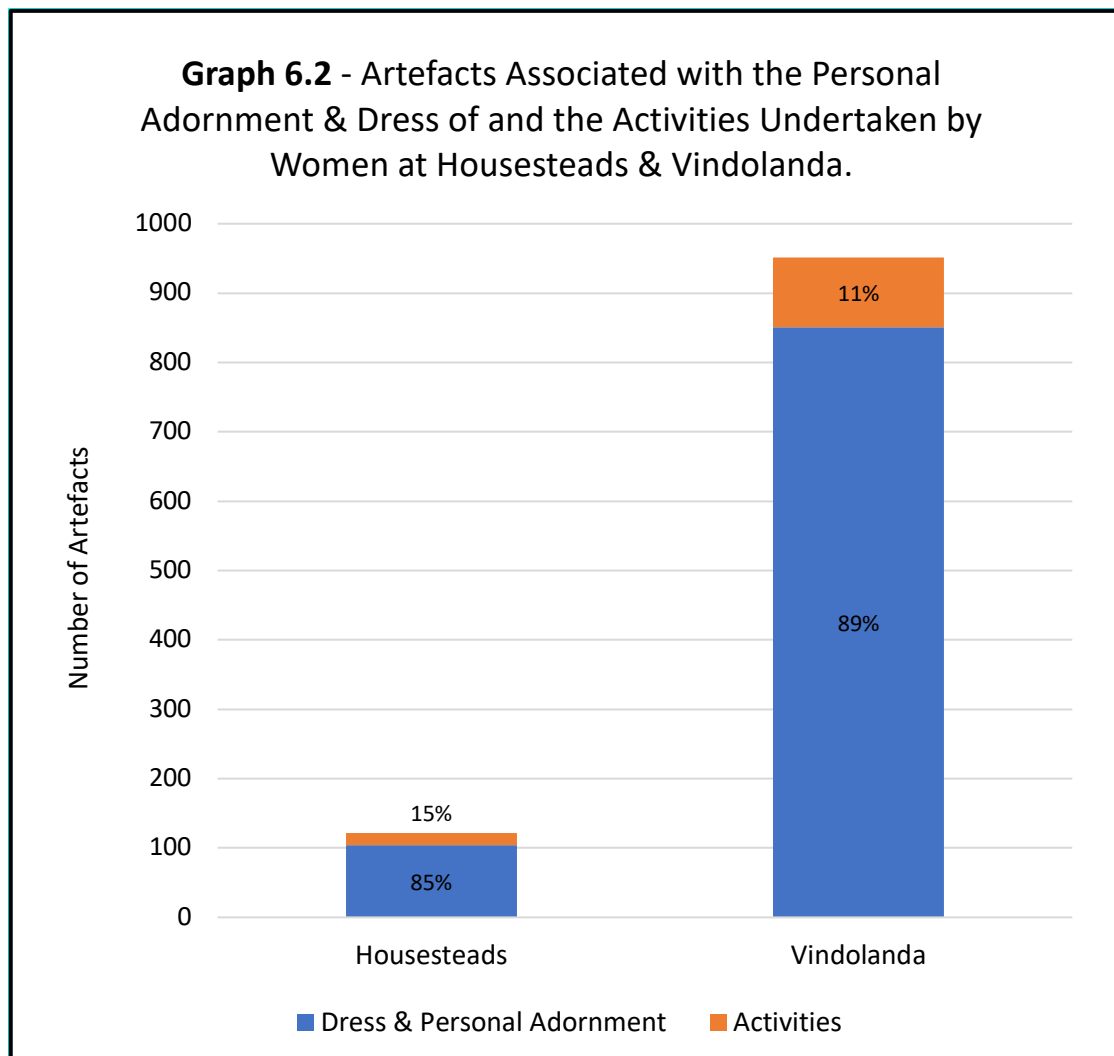
The presence of women in the second stone fort during from approximately AD 300 to AD 400 (Periods VIII and IX) comes primarily from within the fort with only four artefacts found in the extramural settlement. This is likely due to the abandonment of the area in approximately AD 270 (Bidwell, 1985: 88). Within the extramural settlement there was only minimal evidence (only four artefacts being found – V.14, V.673, V.674, V.743) for the presence of women from 4 areas: the Bathhouse porch; just north of the fort's northern gateway; on the road leading north out of the fort's eastern gateway; and just outside the western fort walls of the south west quadrant (see chapter 5 section 5.2.5.2.1). The majority of women in Period VIII and IX are suggested to be present in the *praetorium*, granary area, north east quadrant, and the western and southern rampart areas of the south west quadrant within the fort (see Fig. 5.39, 5.40, 5.41, 5.42, and 5.43). The presence of women is suggested to have increased in all of these areas from the 3rd to the 4th century AD. This will be discussed in further detail in section 6.3.3.

6.4.2 Dataset Comparison

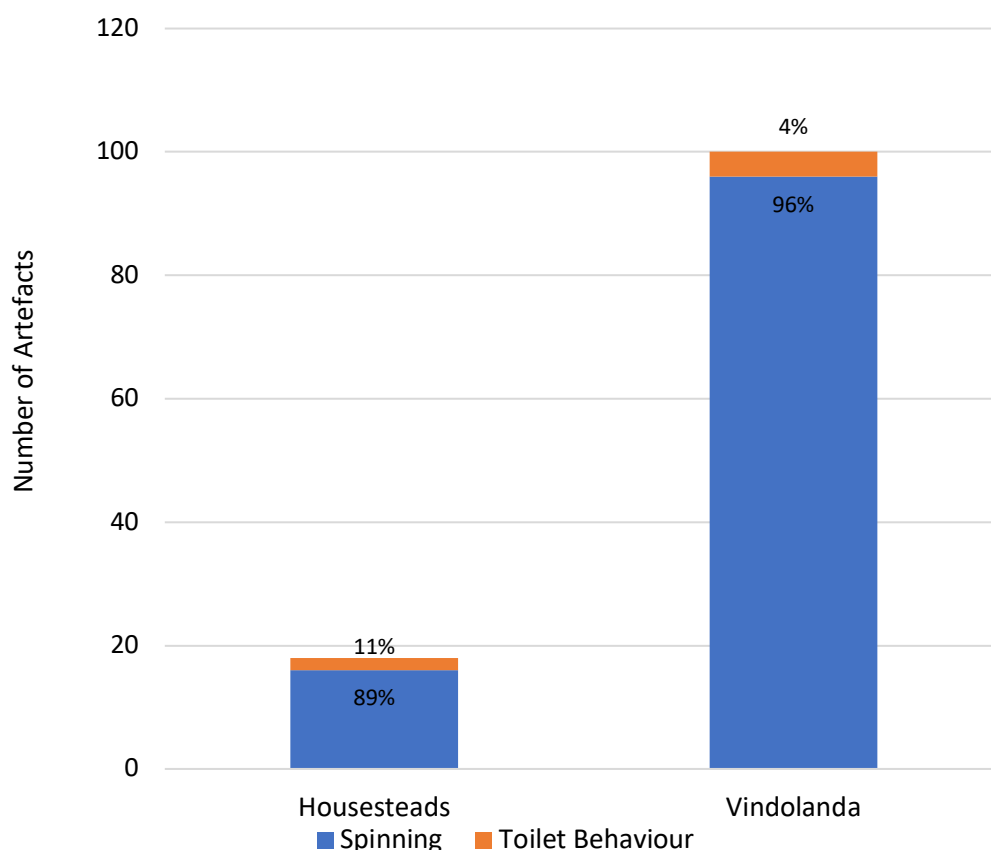
There are similarities in the two artefact datasets. Throughout the periods the artefacts associated with the personal adornment and dress of women constitute 85% and 89% of the artefacts found at Housesteads and Vindolanda respectively, and artefacts associated with the activities undertaken more exclusively by women constitute 15% and 11% respectively (see Graph 6.2). Interestingly, despite the very different extent of excavation and fieldwork at the two sites, the percentages of artefacts associated with the personal adornment of women and the activities

undertaken by women are very similar. This begs the question of whether they would remain similar if the excavation extensiveness was matched at both sites.

The majority of artefacts from activities undertaken more exclusively by women were associated with the spinning of wool – 89% at Housesteads and 96% at Vindolanda (see Graph 6.3). In other words, women at both sites are likely to have been engaged in the same kinds of activities to roughly the same extent – especially regarding the spinning of cloth and the application of cosmetics.

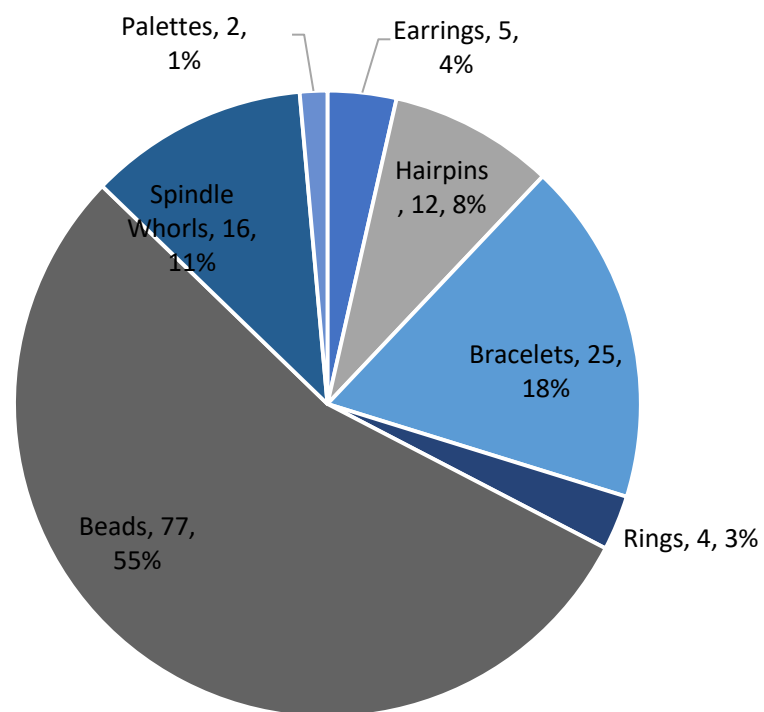


Graph 6.3 - Artefacts Associated with the Spinning & Toilet Behaviour of Women Found at Housesteads & Vindolanda.

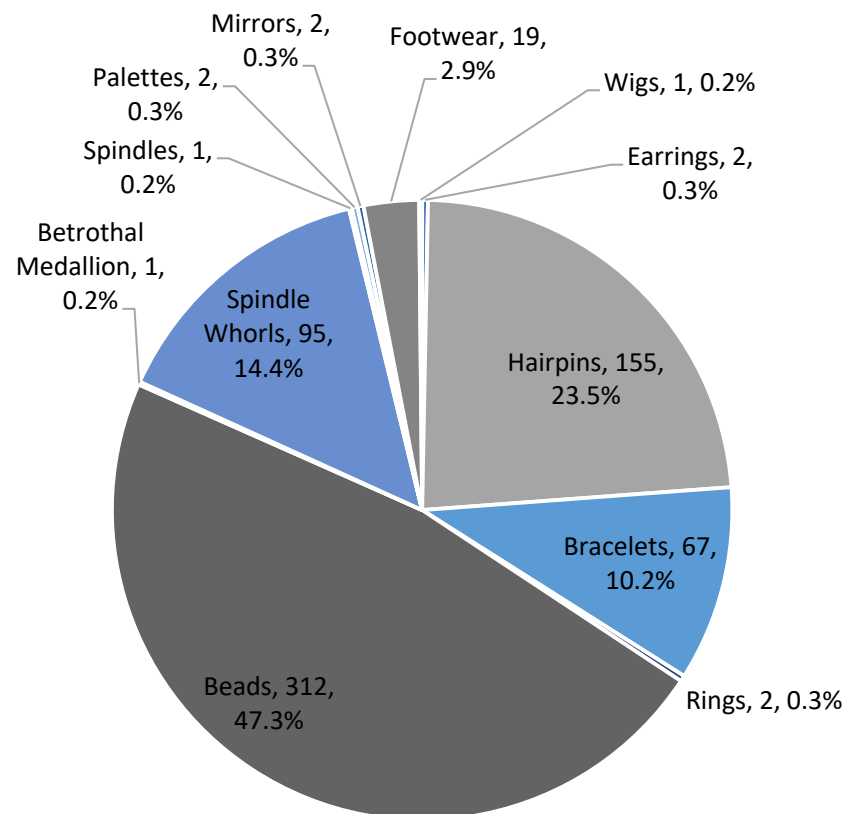


Of the artefacts used in this study to demonstrate the presence of women, earrings, hairpins, rings, bracelets (including armlets and bangles), beads, palettes, mirrors, and spindle whorls were found at both Housesteads and Vindolanda (see Graph 6.4 and 6.5). There were no relevant artefact types found at Housesteads that were not also found at Vindolanda (see Graph 6.4 and 6.5); though four types of artefacts were found at Vindolanda but not at Housesteads – a wig (V.124), a betrothal medallion (V.11), a spindle (V.77), and footwear (V.130, V.131, and V.136). The wig and footwear were made from organic materials and were preserved through the deposition of material within an anaerobic environment not present in the archaeological stratigraphy of Housesteads. So it is understandable that no such artefact types are found at Housesteads.

Graph 6.4 - Types of Artefacts Associated with the Presence of Women found at Housesteads.



Graph 6.5 - Types of Artefacts Associated with the Presence of Women found at Vindolanda.



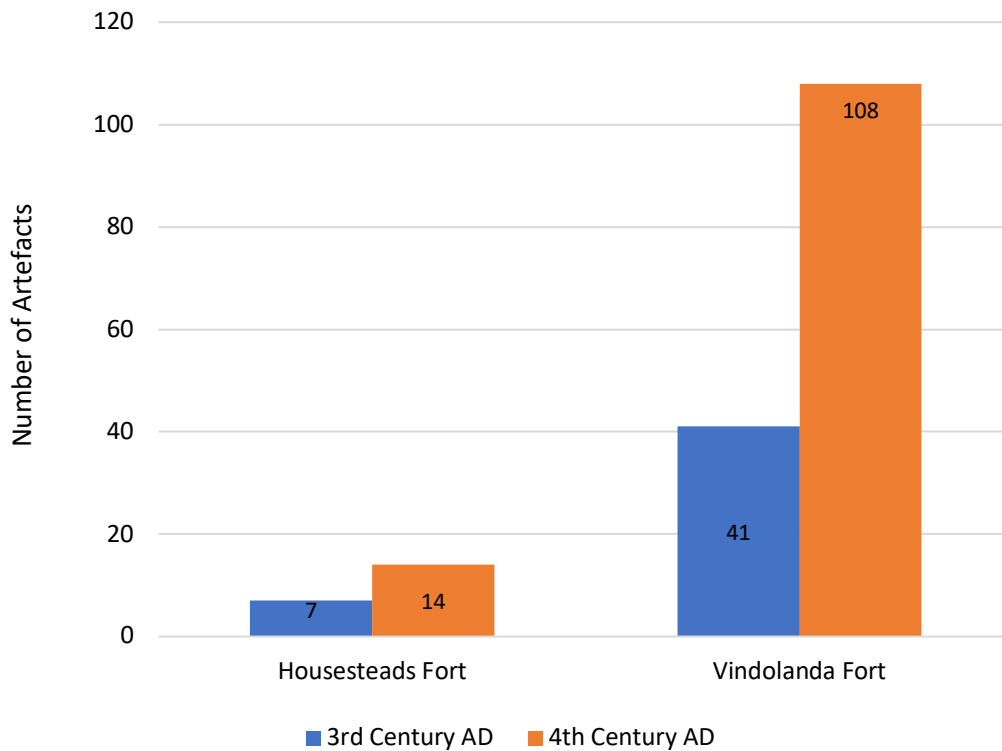
Although 520 more artefacts associated with the presence of women are found at Vindolanda than Housesteads, the percentages of beads, bracelets, and spindle whorls in both the Housesteads and Vindolanda datasets are similar (see Graph 6.4 and 6.5). A large difference lies in the percentage of hairpins that make up both datasets (see Graph 6.4 and 6.5). With many areas of Housesteads not yet excavated this is an incomplete dataset, and it is possible that with further excavation at Housesteads that dataset would be very different.

6.4.3 *Pattern in the Socio-spatial Distribution of Women*

A pattern has emerged in the socio-spatial distribution of women at Housesteads and Vindolanda – the presence of women within both forts increased dramatically from the late 3rd to the 4th century AD. Within both forts, the number of women present increased from the 3rd century (Period III at Housesteads and Period VII at Vindolanda – see Table 6.1) into the 4th century AD (see Graph 6.6). The presence of women within the fort at Housesteads is suggested to have doubled from the 3rd to the 4th century AD, and the presence of women within the fort of Vindolanda is suggested to have increased by 2.6 times from the 3rd to the 4th century AD (see Graph 6.6).

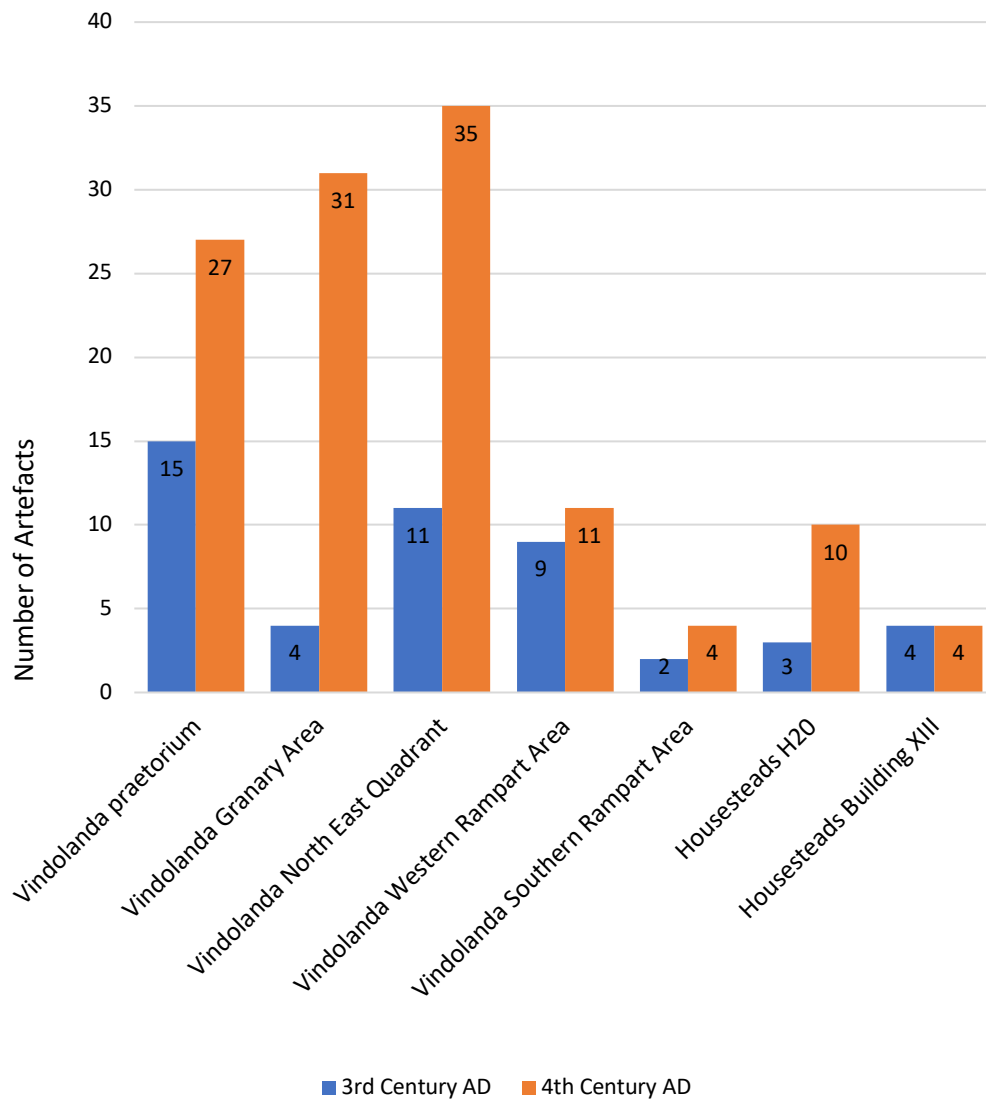
These increases can be further analysed by area. In all areas of the fort of Vindolanda the presence of women is suggested to have increased between the 3rd and 4th century AD (see Graph 6.7). Of the two areas within Housesteads fort that provide enough data for a chronological analysis (Building XIII and H20), only H20 suggests an increase by 3.3 times in the presence of women from the 3rd to the 4th century AD (see Graph 6.7). This is in contrast to the rampart areas of the south west quadrant of Vindolanda where the presence of women is suggested to have increased by 1.2 (western rampart area) and 2 (southern rampart area) times (see Graph 6.8).

Graph 6.6 - Artefacts Associated with the Presence of Women Dating to the 3rd and 4th Centuries AD from within the Housesteads and Vindolanda Forts.

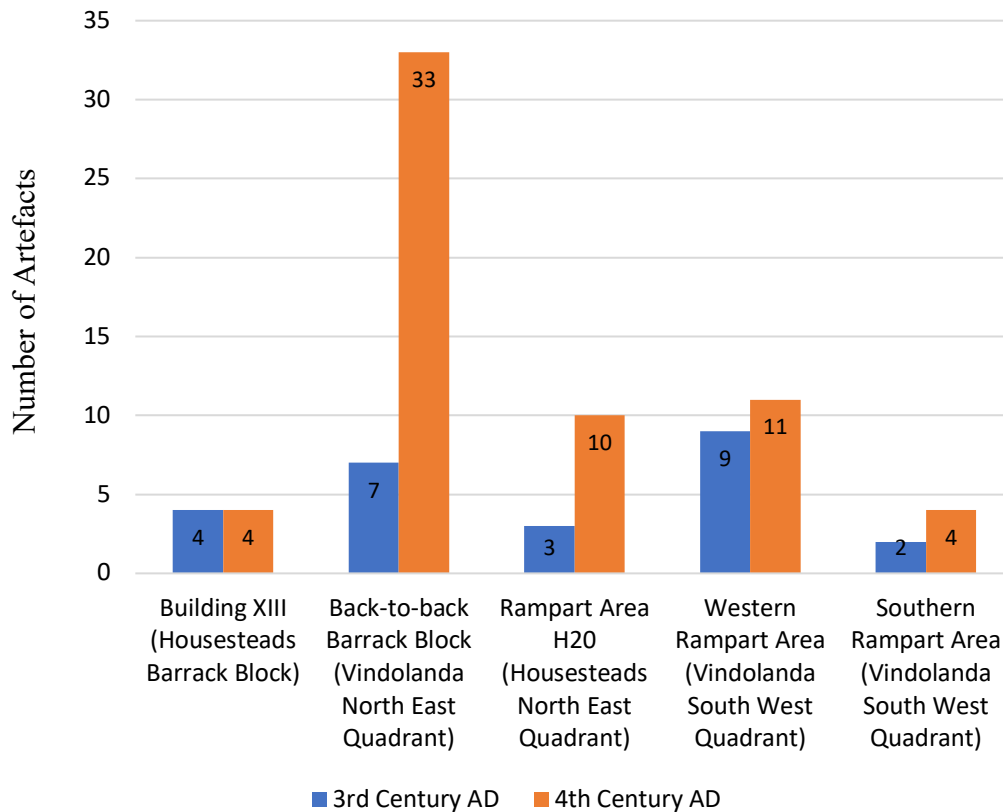


When comparing the barrack blocks of Housesteads and Vindolanda (Building XIII from Housesteads and the back-to-back barrack block of Vindolanda), the suggested presence of women differs significantly from the 3rd to the 4th century AD (see Graph 6.8). Within Building XIII at Housesteads there is no suggested increase, while in the back-to-back barrack block of Vindolanda the presence of women is suggested to have increased by 4.7 times (see Graph 6.8). Such a large increase could be indicative of a change in the usage of the building – women now lived there (see Chapter 5 section 5.12.2.3). If this was the case, evidence for the presence of women in the archaeological record would have surely increased.

Graph 6.7 - Artefacts Associated with the Presence of Women Dating to the 3rd and 4th Century AD from Areas within in Housesteads and Vindolanda Forts.



Graph 6.8 - Increase in the Presence of Women in Similar Areas of Housesteads and Vindolanda Forts from the 3rd to the 4th Century AD.



The function of the Vindolanda granary area also seems to have changed in the 4th century AD into a ‘commercial or multi-functional space’ indicated by the large number of coins and artefacts found in and around the area (Birley, 2013: 44 & 46, fig. 24; see Chapter 5.12.2.2). This change in function would have allowed the presence of women within and around the area of the granaries to increase by 7.75 times from the 3rd into the 4th century (see Table 6.7, Fig. 5.35 and 5.40). Hence the change in function of the granary area most certainly affected the lives of women at the site – they are suggested to have been extensively present in an area minimally occupied by women in the previous century.

The abandonment of the extramural settlements of Housesteads and Vindolanda may have facilitated the increase in the presence of women at both sites - the last of these occurred in approximately AD 280 and AD 270 respectively (Allason-Jones, 2013: 71; Bidwell, 1985: 88; Curteis: 1988: 117). No evidence, except from within the forts of Housesteads and Vindolanda, have been found to suggest the civilians were relocated to another area outside the forts after the abandonment of the extramural settlements. In the case of Vindolanda especially, the large increase in the presence of women suggests that the women living within the extramural settlement were relocated to within the fort itself (see Graph 6.7). For Housesteads the increase was not as great and it is possible that if the rest of the fort were excavated, results similar to Vindolanda may appear. As it is, however, the identification of civilians being relocated to within the fort of Housesteads is not nearly as compelling as at Vindolanda.

Although the increase in the number of artefacts associated with women could be a direct result of the increase presence of women, an alternative explanation must be considered - the lack of meticulous clear up before abandoning both sites can result in an increased presence of women in the archaeological record during the 4th century AD. Abandonment would have been preceded by meticulous clear up – as would if the site was being handed to a new garrison (which often denotes the transition of a period of occupation). Therefore, fewer items that were lost during the last occupation period of the site would have been cleared up and hence, it may appear in the archaeological record to have been more densely occupied than it actually was. Hence, the increase in the number of artefacts associated with the presence of women found in the forts of Housesteads and Vindolanda (from the 3rd into the 4th century AD) is not necessarily a reliable indicator for the increase in the presence of women.

Nevertheless, this study has gathered information about the lives of women at both sites. Women of different socio-economic status are suggested to been present at the sites of Housesteads and Vindolanda within both their extramural settlements

and the forts themselves. Glimpses into the lives of women have been attained through socio-spatial distribution analysis of areas on a domestic and site wide scale.

6.5 Future research

There are three main areas for future research – each is dependent on the availability of resource to support the necessary excavation work if it has not already been done. The first is to expand the number of sites analysed for the presence of women, for example, more Roman military sites along Hadrian's Wall could be analysed to the extent that Housesteads and Vindolanda have been in this study. This would allow the certain patterns in the presence of women established at Housesteads and Vindolanda to be compared to other sites on Hadrian's Wall to see if they were anomalous or more broadly consistent with patterns elsewhere.

The second area is to focus on the Roman military sites positioned on the Stanegate Road. The presence of women throughout the occupation of those forts on the Stanegate road could be compared to the evidence presented within this study for women at Vindolanda.

The third is to focus on the presence of women at Roman military sites on other frontier areas within the empire. The findings could be compared to those from Housesteads and Vindolanda to establish if certain patterns in the socio-spatial distribution of women, and especially the supposed increase in their presence between the 3rd and 4th centuries AD, are consistent across the empire.

Appendix A – Housesteads Artefact Catalogue

Cat. no.:	Object:	Fabric:	Dimensions (L- Length, W-Width, T-Thickness, H- Height, D- Diameter):	Source:	Previous Cat. no.:	Context - site location:	Time/Period(s) of Belonging:	Excavation/Find Date:
H.1	Earring	Silver	D of Head: 11.5mm, total L:18mm	Rushworth, 2009b	SF 4	H13:1:85 Fort Building XIII	c. AD 138-290 (Period II)	1974-81
H.2	Hairpin	Silver	L:39mm	Rushworth, 2009b	SF 7	H13:4:6 Fort Building XIII	Unknown	1974-81
H.3	Tombstone	Buff Sandstone	W:0.279m, H:0.279m, T:0.0318m	https://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org/	1623	Housesteads	c. AD 43-410	Before 1873.
H.4	Earring	Copper Alloy	D:19mm	Rushworth, 2009b	SF 38	H13:1:55 Fort Building XIII	c. AD 138-290 (Period II)	1974-81
H.5	Earring	Copper Alloy	L:23mm	Rushworth, 2009b	SF 39	H21:1:8 Area H21	Unknown	1974-81
H.6	Earring	Copper Alloy	L:16mm, max T: 2mm	Rushworth, 2009b	SF 40	North-east quadrant	Unknown	1974-81
H.7	Bracelet	Copper Alloy	L:84mm, max W:16.5mm, T:1.5mm	Rushworth, 2009b	SF 41	H20:8:8 Area H20	Unknown	1974-81
H.8	Bracelet	Copper Alloy	L:30mm W:1mm T:4mm	Rushworth, 2009b	SF 42	H13:5:0 Fort Building XIII	Topsoil	1974-81

H.9	Bracelet	Copper Alloy	Internal D:45mm, W:1.75mm, T:3mm	Rushworth, 2009b	SF 43	H20:6:19 Area H20	c. AD 138-290 (Period II)	1974-81
H.10	Bracelet	Copper Alloy	L:21mm, W:3mm, T:1.5mm	Rushworth, 2009b	SF 44	H21:1:44 Area H21	Unknown	1974-81
H.11	Bracelet	Copper Alloy	L:37mm, 25mm, total T:2mm	Rushworth, 2009b	SF 45	H21:3:18 Area H21	Unknown	1974-81
H.12	Bracelet	Copper Alloy	L:25mm, T:6mm	Rushworth, 2009b	SF 46	H13:2:0 Fort Building XIII	Topsoil	1974-81
H.13	Bracelet	Copper Alloy	L:37mm, T:7mm	Rushworth, 2009b	SF 47	H21:4:7 Area H21	Unknown	1974-81
H.14	Hairpin shank	Copper Alloy	L:30mm, W:1mm	Rushworth, 2009b	SF 75	H20:6:3 Area H20	c. AD 300-400 (Period IV)	1974-81
H.15	Head of hairpin	Copper Alloy	D:7mm	Rushworth, 2009b	SF 78	H21:3:47 Area H21	Unknown	1974-81
H.16	Tombstone	Buff Sandstone	W:0.457m, H:0.381m	https://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org/	1622	Housesteads	c. AD 43-410	Before 1822.
H.17	Hairpin	Bone	L:119mm, max T:6mm	Rushworth, 2009b	SF 417	H20:7:0 Area H20	Topsoil	1974-81
H.18	Hairpin	Bone	L:68mm, Head:6mm	Rushworth, 2009b	SF 418	H20:7:33 Area H20	Unknown	1974-81
H.19	Hairpin	Bone	L:47mm, T:5mm	Rushworth, 2009b	SF 420	H21:2:6 Area H21	Unknown	1974-81
H.20	Bead	Opaque glass	D:14mm, T:6mm	Rushworth, 2009b	430	H21:3:19 Area H21	Unknown	1974-81
H.21	Bead	Black opaque glass	D:13mm, T:9mm	Rushworth, 2009b	431	H13:0:2 Fort Building XIII	c. AD 400-410 (Period V)	1974-81
H.22	Bead	Light blue opaque glass	L:4mm, T:3mm	Rushworth, 2009b	432	H13:6:13 Fort Building XIII	c. AD 400-410 (Period V)	1974-81

H.23	Bead	Light blue opaque glass	L:11mm, T:4mm	Rushworth, 2009b	433	H20:6:2 Area H20	c. AD 300-400 (Period IV)	1974-81
H.24	Bead	White glass enclosing gold foil	D:7mm, T:6mm	Rushworth, 2009b	434	H13:1:22 Fort Building XIII	c. AD 290-300 (Period III)	1974-81
H.25	Bead	Light blue opaque glass	Unknown	Rushworth, 2009b	436	H13:3:0 Fort Building XIII	Topsoil	1974-81
H.26	Bead	Blue Glass	L:6mm, T:4mm	Rushworth, 2009b	437	H13:7:0 Fort Building XIII	Topsoil	1974-81
H.27	Bead	Blue Glass	L:87mm, T:4.5mm	Rushworth, 2009b	438	H14:9:2 Fort Building XIV	(Early 2nd century to late 4th AD)	1974-81
H.28	Bead	Blue Glass	L:5mm, T:3.5mm	Rushworth, 2009b	439	H21:2:29 Area H21	(Early 2nd century to late 4th AD)	1974-81
H.29	Bead	Green Glass	L:13mm, T:6mm	Rushworth, 2009b	440	H13:2:4 Fort Building XIII	(Early 2nd century to late 4th AD)	1974-81
H.30	Bead	Turquoise glass	L:5mm, T:4mm	Rushworth, 2009b	441	H13:-:0 Fort Building XIII	Topsoil	1974-81
H.31	Bead	Turquoise glass	L:16mm, T:3.5mm	Rushworth, 2009b	442	H13:0:1 Fort Building XIII	c. AD 300-400 (Period IV)	1974-81
H.32	Bead	Turquoise glass	L:12mm, T:4mm	Rushworth, 2009b	443	H13:2:2 Fort Building XIII	c. AD 400-410 (Period V)	1974-81
H.33	Bead	Turquoise glass	L:8mm, T:11mm	Rushworth, 2009b	444	H13:10:0 Fort Building XIII	Topsoil	1974-81

H.34	Bead	Turquoise glass	L:6mm, T:4mm	Rushworth, 2009b	445	H20:6:14 Area H20	c. AD 300-400 (Period IV)	1974-81
H.35	Bead	Blue Glass	L:11mm, T:5mm	Rushworth, 2009b	446	H13:2:5 Fort Building XIII	c. AD 290-300 (Period III)	1974-81
H.36	Bead	Green glass	L:2.5mm, T:5mm	Rushworth, 2009b	447	H13:3:0 Fort Building XIII	Topsoil	1974-81
H.37	Bead	Green glass	L:4mm, T:6.5mm	Rushworth, 2009b	448	H13:1:0 Fort Building XIII	Topsoil	1974-81
H.38	Bead	Green glass	L:3mm, T:3.5mm	Rushworth, 2009b	449	H13:2:0 Fort Building XIII	Topsoil	1974-81
H.39	Bead	Green glass	D:3mm, L:3mm	Rushworth, 2009b	450	H13:2:0 Fort Building XIII	Topsoil	1974-81
H.40	Bead	Green glass	L:2.5mm, T:5mm	Rushworth, 2009b	451	H13:10:0 Fort Building XIII	Topsoil	1974-81
H.41	Bead	Green glass	L:3mm, T:5mm	Rushworth, 2009b	452	H13:0:6 Fort Building XIII	c. AD 138-290 (Period II)	1974-81
H.42	Bead	Green glass	L:10mm, T:4mm	Rushworth, 2009b	453	H13:10:10 Fort Building XIII	Unknown	1974-81
H.43	Bead	Green glass	L:3.5mm, T:6mm	Rushworth, 2009b	454	H13:11:0 Fort Building XIII	Topsoil	1974-81
H.44	Bead	Green glass	L:8mm, T:2mm, W:3.5mm	Rushworth, 2009b	455	H20:4:1 Area H20	c. AD 300-400 (Period IV)	1974-81
H.45	Bead	Green glass	L:7mm, T:3mm, W:5mm	Rushworth, 2009b	456	H20:4:17 Area H20	c. AD 290-300 (Period III)	1974-81

H.46	Bead	Green glass	L:11mm, T:4mm, W:5mm	Rushworth, 2009b	457	H20:6:28 Area H20	c. AD 300-400 (Period IV)	1974-81
H.47	Bead	Green glass	L:24mm, D:5mm	Rushworth, 2009b	458	H14:9:1 Fort Building XIV	Unknown	1974-81
H.48	Bead	Blue Glass	L:5mm, T:3.5mm	Rushworth, 2009b	459	H20:4:20 Area H20	c. AD 300-400 (Period IV)	1974-81
H.49	Bead	Blue Glass	L:3mm, T:3mm	Rushworth, 2009b	460	H13:6:27 Fort Building XIII	c. AD 290-300 (Period III)	1974-81
H.50	Bead	Blue Glass	L:4mm, T:2mm, W:3mm	Rushworth, 2009b	461	H20:4:16 Area H20	c. AD 290-300 (Period III)	1974-81
H.51	Bead	Blue Glass	L:5mm, W:3.5mm	Rushworth, 2009b	462	H20:7:48 Area H20	c. AD 138-290 (Period II)	1974-81
H.52	Bead	Blue Glass	L:4mm, T:2mm	Rushworth, 2009b	463	H21:1:37 Area H21	Unknown	1974-81
H.53	Bead	Green Glass	L:9mm, T:3mm, W:4.5mm	Rushworth, 2009b	464	H13:0:1 Fort Building XIII	c. AD 300-400 (Period IV)	1974-81
H.54	Bead	Green Glass	L:4mm, T:4mm	Rushworth, 2009b	465	H20:4:0 Area H20	Topsoil	1974-81
H.55	Bead	Green Glass	L:4mm, T:3mm, W:2.5mm	Rushworth, 2009b	466	H20:8:34 Area H20	c. AD 300-400 (Period IV)	1974-81
H.56	Bead	Turquoise glass	L:5mm, T:3.5mm	Rushworth, 2009b	467	H13:8:0 Fort Building XIII	Topsoil	1974-81
H.57	Bead	Green Glass	L:6mm, T:4mm	Rushworth, 2009b	468	H13:8:0 Fort Building XIII	Topsoil	1974-81
H.58	Bead	Green Glass	L:12mm, T:6mm	Rushworth, 2009b	469	H13:0:2 Fort Building XIII	c. AD 400-410 (Period V)	1974-81

H.59	Bead	Green Glass	L:10mm, T:6mm, W:7mm	Rushworth, 2009b	470	H20:7:0 Area H20	Topsoil	1974-81
H.60	Bead	Green Glass	L:8mm, D:7mm	Rushworth, 2009b	471	H20:8:7 Area H20	Unknown	1974-81
H.61	Bead	Blue Glass	L:4mm, T:4mm	Rushworth, 2009b	472	H13:2:0 Fort Building XIII	Topsoil	1974-81
H.62	Bead	Blue Glass	D:5mm, T:3mm	Rushworth, 2009b	473	H13:-:0 Fort Building XIII	Topsoil	1974-81
H.63	Bead	Blue Glass	D:5mm, T:3mm	Rushworth, 2009b	474	H13:7:0 Fort Building XIII	Topsoil	1974-81
H.64	Bead	Blue Glass	D:4mm, T:2mm	Rushworth, 2009b	475	H13:8:0 Fort Building XIII	Topsoil	1974-81
H.65	Bead	Blue Glass	D:7mm, T: 3mm	Rushworth, 2009b	476	H13:11:0 Fort Building XIII	Topsoil	1974-81
H.66	Bead	Blue Glass	L:3mm, D:6mm	Rushworth, 2009b	477	HSE:1:20 Fort Area HSE	Unknown	1974-81
H.67	Bead	Blue Glass	D:6mm, T:4mm	Rushworth, 2009b	478	HSE:1:29 Fort Area HSE	c. AD 400-410 (Period V)	1974-81
H.68	Bead	Blue Glass	L:3mm, D:6mm	Rushworth, 2009b	479	HSE:1:29 Fort Area HSE	Unknown	1974-81
H.69	Bead	Green Glass	L:3mm, D:5mm	Rushworth, 2009b	480	H13:1:0 Fort Building XIII	Topsoil	1974-81
H.70	Bead	Dark blue opaque glass	L:1mm, D:5mm	Rushworth, 2009b	481	H13:8:26 Fort Building XIII	Unknown	1974-81

H.71	Bead	Translucent glass	L:5mm, D:7mm	Rushworth, 2009b	482	H13:5:0 Fort Building XIII	Topsoil	1974-81
H.72	Bead	Translucent glass	L:9mm, D:9mm	Rushworth, 2009b	483	H20:7:2 Area H20	Unknown	1974-81
H.73	Bead	Cobalt blue glass	L:5mm, D:4mm	Rushworth, 2009b	484	H13:5:4 Fort Building XIII	c. AD 290-300 (Period III)	1974-81
H.74	Bead	Cobalt blue glass	L:4.5mm, D:6mm	Rushworth, 2009b	485	H13:0:0 Fort Building XIII	Topsoil	1974-81
H.75	Bead	Cobalt blue glass	L:6mm, D:7mm	Rushworth, 2009b	486	H20:8:8 Area H20	c. AD 300-400 (Period IV)	1974-81
H.76	Bead	Translucent light blue glass	L:4mm, D:6mm	Rushworth, 2009b	487	H13:7:0 Fort Building XIII	Topsoil	1974-81
H.77	Bead	Turquoise glass	L:6.5mm, D:6mm	Rushworth, 2009b	488	H20:5:4 Area H20	Unknown	1974-81
H.78	Bead	Turquoise glass	L:4mm, D:5mm	Rushworth, 2009b	489	H14:9:5 Fort Building XIV	Unknown	1974-81
H.79	Armlet	Glass	W:8mm, T:12mm	Rushworth, 2009b	SF 500	H20:1:0 Area H20	Topsoil	1974-81
H.80	Armlet	Glass	W:6mm, T:9mm	Rushworth, 2009b	SF 501	H20:4:0 Area H20	Topsoil	1974-81
H.81	Armlet	Glass	Internal D:60mm, W:60mm, T:9mm	Rushworth, 2009b	SF 502	H14:1:0 Fort Building XIV	Topsoil	1974-81
H.82	Armlet	Glass	Internal D:60mm, W:6.5mm, T:11mm	Rushworth, 2009b	SF 503	H13:10:0 Fort Building XIII	Topsoil	1974-81

H.83	Armlet	Glass	W:7.5mm, T:12.5mm	Rushworth, 2009b	SF 504	H13:1:0 Fort Building XIII	Topsoil	1974-81
H.84	Bead	Dark blue opaque glass	L:16mm, W:14mm, H:6.5mm	Rushworth, 2009b	SF 513	H20:5:26 Area H20	c. AD 300-400 (Period IV)	1974-81
H.85	Armlet	Glass found	None available	Rushworth, 2009b	SF 519	HS:-:0 North-east Quadrant	Topsoil	1974-81
H.86	Spindlewhorl	Central Gaulish ware	D:33mm, T:8mm, hole:4mm	Rushworth, 2009b	SF 540	HSE:1:2 Fort Area HSE	Unknown	1974-81
H.87	Spindlewhorl	East Gaulish ware	D:31mm, T:7mm, hole:6mm	Rushworth, 2009b	SF 541	HSE:1:29 Fort Area HSE	Unknown	1974-81
H.88	Finger-ring	Jet	D:15mm, W:3mm, T:5.5mm	Rushworth, 2009b	SF 607	H20:5:11 Area H20	Unknown	1974-81
H.89	Finger-ring	Jet	Internal D:15mm, W:3mm, max T:6mm	Rushworth, 2009b	SF 608	H20:4:0 Area H20	Topsoil	1974-81
H.90	Finger-ring	Jet	Internal D:17mm, panel:12x8mm	Rushworth, 2009b	SF 609	H14:7:1 Fort Building XIV	Unknown	1974-81
H.91	Finger-ring	Jet	Internal D:16mm, panel:10x6mm	Rushworth, 2009b	SF 610	H13:5:4 Fort Building XIII	Unknown	1974-81
H.92	Bead	Jet	Approx L:18mm, D:4mm	Rushworth, 2009b	SF 612	H14:9:1 Fort Building XIV	Unknown	1974-81
H.93	Bead	Jet	L:4mm, D:6mm	Rushworth, 2009b	SF 613	H13:-:0 Fort Building XIII	Topsoil	1974-81

H.94	Armlet Bead	Jet	L:2mm, W:17mm, D:9mm, D of holes:3mm	Rushworth, 2009b	SF 614	H13:5:3 Fort Building XIII	c. AD 400-410 (Period V)	1974-81
H.95	Armlet Bead	Jet	L:30mm, W:17mm, D:9mm, D of holes:3mm	Rushworth, 2009b	615	H21:3:41 Area H21	Unknown	1974-81
H.96	Bead	Shale	D:15mm, L:4mm	Rushworth, 2009b	617	H13:7:0 Fort Building XIII	Unknown	1974-81
H.97	Bead	Shale	L:8mm, D:12mm	Rushworth, 2009b	618	H13:2:0 Fort Building XIII	Unknown	1974-81
H.98	Bead	Shale	L:30mm, T:8mm	Rushworth, 2009b	619	H13:1:0 Fort Building XIII	Unknown	1974-81
H.99	Shale Armlet	Shale	Internal D:40mm, W:5mm, T:6mm	Rushworth, 2009b	SF 624	H13:11:29 Fort Building XIII	Unknown	1974-81
H.100	Armlet	Shale	Internal D:60mm, W:7mm	Rushworth, 2009b	SF 620	H20:4:0 Area H20	Topsoil	1974-81
H.101	Armlet	Shale	Internal D:70mm, W:7mm, T:7mm	Rushworth, 2009b	SF 621	H21:2:1 Area H21	Unknown	1974-81
H.102	Armlet	Shale	W:10mm, T:6mm	Rushworth, 2009b	SF 622	H20:6:11 Area H20	c. AD 290-300 (Period III)	1974-81
H.103	Armlet	Shale	Internal D:40mm, W:6mm, T:8mm	Rushworth, 2009b	SF 623	H13:11:20 Fort Building XIII	c. AD 300-400 (Period IV)	1974-81
H.104	Shale Armlet	Shale	Internal D:40mm, W:5mm, T:6mm	Rushworth, 2009b	SF 624	H13:11:29 Fort Building XIII	Unknown	1974-81

H.105	Armlet	Shale	Not possible	Rushworth, 2009b	SF 625	H13:1:13 Fort Building XIII	c. AD 300-400 (Period IV)	1974-81
H.106	Armlet	Shale	Internal D:80mm, W:5mm, T:6mm	Rushworth, 2009b	SF 626	H13:1:0 Fort Building XIII	Topsoil	1974-81
H.107	Strip Armlet	Shale	Internal D:60mm, W:5mm, T:10mm	Rushworth, 2009b	SF 627	H13:3:0 Fort Building XIII	Topsoil	1974-81
H.108	Armlet	Shale	Internal D:65mm, W:6mm, T:7mm	Rushworth, 2009b	SF 628	H13:4:6 Fort Building XIII	Unknown	1974-81
H.109	Armlet	Shale	Internal D:40mm, W:5mm, T:6mm	Rushworth, 2009b	SF 629	H13:0:2 Fort Building XIII	c. AD 400-410 (Period V)	1974-81
H.110	Hairpin	Jet	L:35mm, T of head:7mm	Rushworth, 2009b	SF 630	H20:4:0 Area H20	Topsoil	1974-81
H.111	Hairpin	Jet	Surviving L:36mm, head 9x9mm	Rushworth, 2009b	SF 631	H13:1:11 Fort Building XIII	Unknown	1974-81
H.112	Bracelet	Shale	Internal D:70mm, W:6mm, T:7mm	Rushworth, 2009b	SF 632	H13:3:2 Fort Building XIII	Unknown	1974-81
H.113	Bead	Amber	D:9mm, T:5mm	Rushworth, 2009b	638	H20:4:1 Area H20	c. AD 300-400 (Period IV)	1974-81
H.114	Palette	Slate	L:79mm, surviving W:63mm, T:6.5mm	Rushworth, 2009b	SF 640	HSE:1:23 Fort Area HSE	c. AD 300-400 (Period IV)	1974-81
H.115	Spindle Whorl	Stone	D:56mm, T:6mm, hole:11mm	Rushworth, 2009b	SF 641	H13:4:6 Fort Building XIII	Unknown	1974-81

H.116	Hairpins (multiple - no exact number)	Bone	Not recorded.	Birley, 1961	Not individually recorded	Extramural settlement I (Building I - Well)	c. AD 43-410	1961
H.117	Beads	Unknown	Not recorded.	Birley, 1961	Unknown	Extramural settlement I (Building I - Well)	c. AD 43-410	1961
H.118	Hairpin	Bronze	Unknown	Birley and Charlton, 1934	30	Unstratified - Extramural settlement II	Unknown	1931-33
H.119	Hairpin	Bronze	Unknown	Birley and Charlton, 1934	31	Unstratified - Extramural settlement II	Unknown	1931-33
H.120	Palette	Shale	Unknown	Birley and Charlton, 1934	34	Unstratified - Extramural settlement II	Unknown	1931-33
H.121	Spindle- whorl	Jet	Unknown	Wilkes, 1961	9	Unstratified - Fort Building XIV	Unknown	1960
H.122	Spindle- Whorls (multiple - no exact number)	Samian ware, coarse pottery and mortaria	Unknown	Wilkes, 1961	9	Unstratified - Fort Building XIV	Unknown	1960

H.123	Bead	Dark brown glass	Unknown	Wilkes, 1961	13	Unstratified - Fort Building XIV	Unknown	1960
H.124	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Wilkes, 1961	14	Unstratified - Fort Building XIV	Unknown	1960
H.125	Bead	Green glass	Unknown	Wilkes, 1961	15	Unstratified - Fort Building XIV	Unknown	1960
H.126	Segmented bead	Jet	Unknown	Wilkes, 1961	16	Unstratified - Fort Building XIV	Unknown	1960
H.127	Bead	Mauve glass	Unknown	Wilkes, 1961	17	Unstratified - Fort Building XIV	Unknown	1960
H.128	Bead	Ultramarine glass	Unknown	Wilkes, 1961	18	Unstratified - Fort Building XIV	Unknown	1960
H.129	Bracelet	Bronze	Unknown	Leach and Wilkes, 1962	Miscellaneous SF 2	Unstratified - Fort Building XV	Unknown	1961
H.130	Bead	Jet	Unknown	Leach and Wilkes, 1962	Miscellaneous SF 4	Unstratified - Fort Building XV	3 rd and 4 th century AD	1961
H.131	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	Charlesworth, 1975	SF 10	Topsoil - Fort Building XII	Unknown	1967-69
H.132	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	Charlesworth, 1975	SF 11	Fort Building XII (Room 7)	Unknown	1967-69
H.133	Tombstone	Buff Sandstone	Unrecorded	https://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org/	1619	Housesteads	c. AD 43-410	1716 or before.

H.134	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Charlesworth, 1976	SF 5	Fort Building IX	Unknown	1969-73
H.135	Tombstone	Buff Sandstone	W:0.762m, H:1.524m	https://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org/	1618	Housesteads	c. AD 43-410	1813 or before.
H.136	Altar	Buff Sandstone	W:0.229m, H:0.432m	https://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org/	1577	Housesteads	c. AD 43-410	1822
H.137	Altar	Buff Sandstone	W:0.381m, H:1.219m	https://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org/	1578	Housesteads Fort	c. AD 43-410	1854
H.138	Altar	Buff Sandstone	W:0.533m, H:1.067m	https://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org/	1580	Housesteads	c. AD 43-410	1727 or before.
H.139	Tombstone	Buff Sandstone	W:0.762m, H:0.914m	https://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org/	1620	Housesteads	c. AD 200-300 (Periods II & III)	1702 or before
H.140	Altar	Buff Sandstone	W:0.229m, H:0.356m	https://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org/	1582	Housesteads	c. AD 43-410	1853 or before
H.141	Altar	Buff Sandstone	W:0.254m, H:0.483m	https://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org/	1583	Housesteads	c. AD 43-410	1898
H.142	Altar	Buff Sandstone	W:0.508m, H:1.168m	https://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org/	1584	Housesteads	c. AD 43-410	1702
H.143	Altar	Buff Sandstone	W:0.533m, H:1.143m	https://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org/	1585	Housesteads	c. AD 43-410	1725 or before
H.144	Altar	Buff Sandstone	W:0.559m, H:1.168m	https://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org/	1586	Housesteads	c. AD 43-410	1702
H.145	Tombstone	Buff Sandstone	W:0.61m, H:0.61m	https://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org/	1621	Housesteads	c. AD 43-410	Before 1822
H.146	Pillar Altar	Buff Sandstone	W:0.584m, H:1.829m	https://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org/	1593	Housesteads	c. AD 43-410	1883
H.147	Altar	Buff Sandstone	W:0.406m, H:1.092m	https://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org/	1600	Housesteads	C. AD 252	1822
H.148	Altar	Buff Sandstone	W:0.533m, H:1.397m	https://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org/	1599	Housesteads	c. AD 43-410	1822
H.149	Altar	Buff Sandstone	Unrecorded	https://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org/	1598	Housesteads	c. AD 43-410	1726 or before.

H.150	Altar	Buff Sandstone	W:0.559m, H:1.27m	https://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org/	1594	Housesteads	c. AD 43-410	1883
-------	-------	----------------	----------------------	---	------	-------------	--------------	------

Appendix B – Vindolanda Artefact Catalogue

Any gaps in the numbering of the Vindolanda catalogue numbers are a result of data gathered which were no longer required as the parameters of the evidence for the presence of women were defined through the study.

Cat. No.:	Object:	Fabric:	Dimensions (L- Length, W-Width, T- Thickness, H-Height, D-Diameter):	Source:	Previous Cat. no.:	Context - site location:	Time/Period(s) of Belonging:	Excavation/Find Date:
V.1	Tombstone	Buff sandstone	W: 0.660, H: 0.533 m	RIB vol. 1	1713	Among debris of the east gate of stone fort II	Unknown	1818
V.2	Tombstone	Buff sandstone	W: 0.660, H: 1.219 m	RIB vol. 1	1714	North-West of Vindolanda fort in a field North the Stanegate	Unknown	Before 1810
V.3	Tombstone	Buff sandstone	W: 0.635, H: 0.457 m	RIB vol. 1	1715	Vindolanda	Unknown	c. 1830
V.4	Tombstone	Buff sandstone	W: 0.559, H: 0.686 m	RIB vol. 1	1716	Vindolanda	Unknown	c. 1830
V.5	Tombstone	Buff sandstone	W: 0.635, H: 0.889 m	RIB vol. 1	1717	Vindolanda	Unknown	c. 1830
V.6	Tombstone	Buff sandstone	W: 0.178, H: 0.229 m	RIB vol. 1	1718	Vindolanda	Unknown	1937
V.7	Tombstone	Buff sandstone	W: 0.279, H: 0.305 m	RIB vol. 1	1719	Vindolanda	Unknown	1882
V.8	Tombstone	Buff sandstone	W: 0.50, H: 0.60, D: 0.18 m	RIB vol. 3	3364	4th century praetorium	Unknown	1997
V.9	Tombstone	Creamy-buff sandstone	Unknown	RIB vol. 3	3365	Vindolanda	c. AD 120-130 (Period V)	1980
V.10	Tombstone	Buff sandstone	Unknown	RIB vol. 3	3366	Eastern wall of second stone fort	Probably 4th century (Period VIII-IX)	1999
V.11	Betrothal medallion	Jet	W: 30mm, H: 32mm, max. T: 4mm, min. T: 2mm	Birley, 1973	20	In narrow alleyway East of the mansio in the rubble packing	c. AD 205-212 (Period VIB)	1969-72
V.14	Ring	Gold	W: 16mm, H: 14mm	Birley, 1973	18	Extramural settlement Bath House porch	c. AD 300-400 (Period VIII-IX)	1970

V.15	Bead	Glass	Unknown	VRR vol. 1	SF 3665	Fabrica, Room 7	c. AD 120-130 (Period V)	1970-76 & 1985-89
V.16	Bead	Unknown	Unknown	VRR vol. 1	928	Praetorium, Room VIA	c. AD 100-105 (Period III)	1970-76 & 1985-89
V.17	Bead	Unknown	Unknown	VRR vol. 1	984	Praetorium, Room VIA	c. AD 100-105 (Period III)	1970-76 & 1985-89
V.18	Bead	Glass	Unknown	VRR vol. 1	3861	Praetorium, Room X	c. AD 100-105 (Period III)	1970-76 & 1985-89
V.19	Bead	Unknown	Unknown	VRR vol. 1	4094	Praetorium, Room XV	c. AD 100-105 (Period III)	1970-76 & 1985-89
V.21	Bead	Bone	Unknown	VRR vol. 1	4290	Praetorium, Room Water Tank L	c. AD 92-100 (Period II)	1970-76 & 1985-89
V.24	Mirror	Unknown	Unknown	VRR vol. 1	SF 3902	Praetorium, Room F & G	c. AD 92-100 (Period II)	1970-76 & 1985-89
V.25	Ring	Gold	Unknown	Birley and Blake, 2007	10445	Intramural settlement V06A-08	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2006
V.26	Hairpin	Bronze	Unknown	VRR vol. 1	SF 865	Praetorium, Room VIA	c. AD 100-105 (Period III)	1970-76 & 1985-89
V.27	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	VRR vol. 1	SF 1666	Praetorium, Room II	c. AD 100-105 (Period III)	1970-76 & 1985-89
V.28	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	VRR vol. 1	SF 1127	Praetorium, Room II	c. AD 100-105 (Period III)	1970-76 & 1985-89
V.29	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	VRR vol. 1	SF 4262	Praetorium, Room XII	c. AD 100-105 (Period III)	1970-76 & 1985-89
V.30	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	VRR vol. 1	SF 4332	Praetorium, Room XII	c. AD 100-105 (Period III)	1970-76 & 1985-89
V.31	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	VRR vol. 1	SF 3841	Praetorium, Room X	c. AD 100-105 (Period III)	1970-76 & 1985-89
V.32	Hairpin	Unknown	Unknown	VRR vol. 1	SF 4128	Praetorium, Room XV	c. AD 100-105 (Period III)	1970-76 & 1985-89
V.35	Bracelet	Unknown	Unknown	Birley, 1973	16	Praetorium	c. AD 205-212 (Period VIB)	1969-73

V.36	Hairpin	Iron	Unknown	VRR vol. 1	SF 3880	Inner Western Ditch of Stone Fort II	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-76 & 1985-89
V.37	Hairpin	Iron	Unknown	VRR vol. 1	SF 4296	Inner Western Ditch of Stone Fort II	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-76 & 1985-89
V.38	Hairpin	Bronze/Copper Alloy	Unknown	VRR vol. 1	SF 991	Inner Western Ditch of Stone Fort II	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-76 & 1985-89
V.39	Hairpin	Bronze/Copper Alloy	Unknown	VRR vol. 1	SF 3870	Inner Western Ditch of Stone Fort II	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-76 & 1985-89
V.40	Hairpin	Silver	Unknown	VRR vol. 1	SF 4374	Inner Western Ditch of Stone Fort II	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-76 & 1985-89
V.42	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	VRR vol. 1	SF 903	Outer Western Ditch of Stone Fort II	c. AD 130-165 (Period VI)	1970-76 & 1985-89
V.43	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	VRR vol. 1	SF 1582	Outer Western Ditch of Stone Fort II	c. AD 130-165 (Period VI)	1970-76 & 1985-89
V.44	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley and Blake, 2007	10711	Intramural settlement V06A-52	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2006
V.45	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	VRR vol. 1	SF 1674	Outer Western Ditch of Stone Fort II	c. AD 130-165 (Period VI)	1970-76 & 1985-89
V.48	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	VRR vol. 1	SF 3574	Outer Western Ditch of Stone Fort II	c. AD 130-165 (Period VI)	1970-76 & 1985-89
V.49	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	VRR vol. 1	SF 3701	Outer Western Ditch of Stone Fort II	c. AD 130-165 (Period VI)	1970-76 & 1985-89
V.50	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	VRR vol. 1	SF 3704	Outer Western Ditch of Stone Fort II	c. AD 130-165 (Period VI)	1970-76 & 1985-89
V.51	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	VRR vol. 1	SF 3818	Outer Western Ditch of Stone Fort II	c. AD 130-165 (Period VI)	1970-76 & 1985-89
V.52	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	VRR vol. 1	SF 3857	Outer Western Ditch of Stone Fort II	c. AD 130-165 (Period VI)	1970-76 & 1985-89
V.53	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	VRR vol. 1	SF 4029	Outer Western Ditch of Stone Fort II	c. AD 130-165 (Period VI)	1970-76 & 1985-89
V.54	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	VRR vol. 1	SF 4030	Outer Western Ditch of Stone Fort II	c. AD 130-165 (Period VI)	1970-76 & 1985-89

V.55	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	VRR vol. 1	SF 4070	Outer Western Ditch of Stone Fort II	c. AD 130-165 (Period VI)	1970-76 & 1985-89
V.56	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	VRR vol. 1	SF 4071	Outer Western Ditch of Stone Fort II	c. AD 130-165 (Period VI)	1970-76 & 1985-89
V.57	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	VRR vol. 1	SF 4143	Outer Western Ditch of Stone Fort II	c. AD 130-165 (Period VI)	1970-76 & 1985-89
V.58	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	VRR vol. 1	SF 4196	Outer Western Ditch of Stone Fort II	c. AD 130-165 (Period VI)	1970-76 & 1985-89
V.59	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	VRR vol. 1	SF 4224	Outer Western Ditch of Stone Fort II	c. AD 130-165 (Period VI)	1970-76 & 1985-89
V.60	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	VRR vol. 1	SF 4383	Outer Western Ditch of Stone Fort II	c. AD 130-165 (Period VI)	1970-76 & 1985-89
V.62	Earring	Bronze	Unknown	VRR vol. 1	SF 1020	Praetorium, Room VIA	c. AD 100-105 (Period III)	1970-76 & 1985-89
V.63	Bangle	Bronze	Unknown	VRR vol. 1	SF 3587	Praetorium, Room VIII	c. AD 100-105 (Period III)	1970-76 & 1985-89
V.64	Earring	Bronze	Unknown	VRR vol. 1	SF 3890	Praetorium, Room X	c. AD 100-105 (Period III)	1970-76 & 1985-89
V.70	Bracelet	Copper	Unknown	VRR vol. 1	SF 3758	Fabrica, Room 7	c. AD 120-130 (Period V)	1970-76 & 1985-89
V.74	Bangle	Bronze	Unknown	VRR vol. 1	SF 5118	Inner Western Ditch of Stone Fort II	c. AD 213-400 (Periods VII-IX)	1970-76 & 1985-89
V.75	Bracelet	Bronze/Copper Alloy	Unknown	VRR vol. 1	SF 3805	Outer Western Ditch of Stone Fort II	c. AD 120-130 (Period V)	1970-76 & 1985-89
V.77	Spindle	Lead	Unknown	VRR vol. 1	SF 4644	Praetorium, Room XVIII	c. AD 100-105 (Period III)	1970-76 & 1985-89
V.82	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 3807	Extramural settlement building LXXIV VI	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1986-91
V.84	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	VRR vol. 1	SF 992	Inner Western Ditch of Stone Fort II	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-76 & 1985-89
V.85	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	VRR vol. 1	SF 1582	Inner Western Ditch of Stone Fort II	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-76 & 1985-89

V.86	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	VRR vol. 1	SF 1604	Inner Western Ditch of Stone Fort II	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-76 & 1985-89
V.87	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	VRR vol. 1	SF 1674	Inner Western Ditch of Stone Fort II	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-76 & 1985-89
V.88	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	VRR vol. 1	SF 3489	Inner Western Ditch of Stone Fort II	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-76 & 1985-89
V.89	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	VRR vol. 1	SF 3490	Inner Western Ditch of Stone Fort II	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-76 & 1985-89
V.90	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	VRR vol. 1	SF 3501	Inner Western Ditch of Stone Fort II	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-76 & 1985-89
V.91	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	VRR vol. 1	SF 3718	Inner Western Ditch of Stone Fort II	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-76 & 1985-89
V.92	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	VRR vol. 1	SF 3829	Inner Western Ditch of Stone Fort II	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-76 & 1985-89
V.93	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	VRR vol. 1	SF 3871	Inner Western Ditch of Stone Fort II	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-76 & 1985-89
V.94	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	VRR vol. 1	SF 3872	Inner Western Ditch of Stone Fort II	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-76 & 1985-89
V.95	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	VRR vol. 1	SF 3883	Inner Western Ditch of Stone Fort II	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-76 & 1985-89
V.96	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	VRR vol. 1	SF 3995	Inner Western Ditch of Stone Fort II	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-76 & 1985-89
V.97	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	VRR vol. 1	SF 4133	Inner Western Ditch of Stone Fort II	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-76 & 1985-89
V.98	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	VRR vol. 1	SF 4376	Inner Western Ditch of Stone Fort II	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-76 & 1985-89
V.99	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	VRR vol. 1	SF 4390	Inner Western Ditch of Stone Fort II	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-76 & 1985-89
V.100	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	VRR vol. 1	SF 44454	Inner Western Ditch of Stone Fort II	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-76 & 1985-89
V.101	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	VRR vol. 1	SF 4118	Extramural settlement building LXXIV E	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1986-91

V.102	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	VRR vol. 1	SF 3547	Extramural settlement building LXXVE	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1986-91
V.103	Spindle whorl	Jet	Unknown	VRR vol. 1	SF 1081	Extramural settlement Diocletian western ditch	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1972-74
V.104	Spindle whorl	Shale	Unknown	VRR vol. 1	SF 1067	Extramural settlement Diocletian western ditch	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1972-74
V.105	Bead	Glass	Unknown	VRR vol. 1	SF 3566	Inner Western Ditch of Stone Fort II	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-76 & 1985-89
V.106	Bead	Glass	Unknown	VRR vol. 1	SF 1057	Inner Western Ditch of Stone Fort II	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-76 & 1985-89
V.124	Wig	Hair Moss	Unknown	VRR vol. 1	SF 3542	Praetorium, Room VIA	c. AD 100-105 (Period III)	1970-76 & 1985-89
V.127	Cosmetic Palette	Unknown	Unknown	VRR vol. 1	SF 4066	Fabrica, Room 15	c. AD 120-130 (Period V)	1970-76 & 1985-89
V.128	Palette	Marble	Unknown	VRR vol.1	SF 3780	Praetorium, Room XII	c. AD 100-105 (Period III)	1970-76 & 1985-89
V.129	Footwear	Leather	Between L: 16.7cm and L: 21.3cm	VRR vol. 1	L 2230	Praetorium, Corridor M	c. AD 92-100 (Period II)	1970-76 & 1985-89
V.130	Footwear	Leather	Between L: 16.7cm and L: 21.3cm	VRR vol. 1	SF 883	Praetorium, Room VIA (Enclosed yard)	c. AD 100-105 (Period III)	1970-76 & 1985-89
V.131	Footwear	Leather	Between L: 16.7cm and L: 21.3cm	VRR vol. 1; Birley, 1973	SF 863	Praetorium, Room VIA (Enclosed yard)	c. AD 100-105 (Period III)	1970-76 & 1985-89
V.136	Footwear	Cloth	Unknown	VRR vol. 1	TT 316	Praetorium, Room XI	c. AD 100-105 (Period III)	1970-76 & 1985-89
V.150	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 154	South of Bath House cold Plunge	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970
V.151	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 155	South of Bath House cold Plunge	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970
V.152	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 190	South end of cold plunge bath,	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970
V.153	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 226	Extramural settlement building XXXIII B	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970

V.154	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 281	Mansio Courtyard	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970
V.155	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 343	Extramural settlement building XXVII	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970
V.156	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 350	Extramural settlement NW 2B NW corner	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970
V.157	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 379	Extramural settlement building IV alley	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970
V.158	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 461	Extramural settlement building XXI north	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1972-74
V.159	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 470	Extramural settlement building XXX pressed into floor	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1972-74
V.160	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 513	Extramural settlement building XI	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1972-74
V.161	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 552	Extramural settlement building XI	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1972-74
V.162	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 583	Extramural settlement building XXXVIII	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1972-74
V.163	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 584	Extramural settlement building XXXVIII	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1972-74
V.164	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 649	Extramural settlement building XI	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1972-74
V.165	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 756	Extramural settlement N road ditch fill	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1972-74
V.166	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 761	Extramural settlement building XXXII	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1972-74
V.167	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 766	Extramural settlement building XXXII	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1972-74
V.168	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 866	Extramural settlement E. of building XXXIII flagged	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1972-74
V.169	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 919	Extramural settlement Building LXXVI ditch lip	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1972-74

V.170	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 924	Extramural settlement building XXX pressed into floor	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1972-74
V.171	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1078	Extramural settlement Diocletian ditch west	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1972-74
V.172	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF1117	Extramural settlement building XXX S.	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1972-74
V.173	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1145	Extramural settlement S. of building II pressed in to the clay floor	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1972-74
V.174	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1234	Extramural settlement A4	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1974-76
V.175	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1241	Extramural settlement A4	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1974-76
V.176	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1544	Extramural settlement building XXVII	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1974-76
V.177	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1691	Extramural settlement VKA21 VA2 level 2	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1974-76
V.178	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1711	Extramural settlement KC2	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1974-76
V.179	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1721	Extramural settlement KC3-76- (3) AX18'8" BX12'2"	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1974-76
V.180	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1749	Extramural settlement building LXXXV	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1974-76
V.181	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1771	Extramural settlement KA4-1 level 1 AX18'8" BX12'2"	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1974-76
V.182	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1799	Extramural settlement KA3 (14) level 1 AX15'6" BX18'7"	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1974-76
V.183	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1831	Extramural settlement KA5/6	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1974-76
V.184	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1960	Extramural settlement (KAI) BX22'6" (KBI) CX 22'9"	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1974-76
V.185	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1897a	Extramural settlement KB7	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1974-76

V.186	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1936	Extramural settlement KD3/4	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1974-76
V.187	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1946	Extramural settlement KD3/4	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1974-76
V.188	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1953	Extramural settlement KB8/9	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1974-76
V.189	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1980	Extramural settlement KBI	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1974-76
V.190	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2003	Extramural settlement building XXIXB	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1974-76
V.191	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2022	Extramural settlement building XXIXB	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1974-76
V.192	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2050	Extramural settlement KD8/9	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1974-76
V.193	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2054	Extramural settlement KC4/5	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1974-76
V.194	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2079	Extramural settlement Site A (2) LX37' GX35' E	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1974-76
V.195	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2087	Extramural settlement building XXIX	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1974-76
V.196	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2275	Intramural settlement Latrine NE	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	1981-85
V.197	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2283	Intramural settlement context I VPM1 barracks	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	1981-85
V.198	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2345	Intramural settlement context VPM5 barracks	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	1981-85
V.199	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2383	Intramural settlement context VPM20 barracks	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	1981-85
V.200	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2445	Intramural settlement context VPM15 barracks	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	1981-85
V.201	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2478	Intramural settlement context 25 VPM26 barracks	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	1981-85

V.202	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2588	Intramural settlement context 63 VPM27 barracks	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	1981-85
V.203	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2603	Intramural settlement context 134 VPM41 barracks	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1981-85
V.204	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2622	Intramural settlement context 107 VPM37 barracks	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1981-85
V.205	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2626	Intramural settlement context 1 VPM32	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	1981-85
V.206	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2627	Intramural settlement context 1 VPM33	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	1981-85
V.207	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2637	Intramural settlement context 1 VPM30	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	1981-85
V.208	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2638	Intramural settlement context 1 VPM29	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	1981-85
V.209	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2651	Intramural settlement context 91 VPM91	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1981-85
V.210	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2743	Intramural settlement context 1 VPM10	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	1981-85
V.211	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF2950	Intramural settlement VPM52	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	1981-85
V.212	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 3129	Intramural settlement context 1 VP555 VPM61	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	1986-91
V.213	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 4080	Extramural settlement building LXXIV	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1986-91
V.215	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 7129	Intramural settlement V97-32	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1997
V.216	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 7214	Intramural settlement V97-71	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1997
V.218	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 7360	Intramural settlement V98-117	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	1998
V.221	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Blake, 2001	SF 7760	Intramural settlement V00-1	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	2000

V.222	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Blake, 2001	SF 7768	Intramural settlement V00-2	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	2000
V.224	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 8253	Extramural settlement V01B-18	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2001
V.225	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 8787	Extramural settlement V02B-4	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2002
V.226	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 8844	Extramural settlement V02-06A	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2002
V.227	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 8900	Extramural settlement V02B-41	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2002
V.228	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 8911	Extramural settlement V03B10	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2003
V.229	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 8973	Extramural settlement V03B-32	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2003
V.230	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 8986	Extramural settlement V03B-42	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2003
V.231	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 9736	Extramural settlement V03B-54	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2003
V.232	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 9829	Extramural settlement V03B-16	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2003
V.233	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley and Blake, 2007	SF 9918	Extramural settlement building LXXXVI	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2005
V.234	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley and Blake, 2007	SF 10093	Intramural settlement V05-33A fort wall	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2005
V.237	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley and Blake, 2007	SF 10588	Intramural settlement V06-28A western rampart	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	2006
V.238	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 11106	Extramural settlement V07-28A	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2007
V.239	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 11172	Extramural settlement V07-24A	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2007
V.240	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 11173	Extramural settlement V07-24A	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2007

V.241	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 11214	Extramural settlement V07-49A	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2007
V.242	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 11224	Extramural settlement V07-18A	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2007
V.243	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 11253	Extramural settlement V07-51A	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2007
V.244	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 11404	Extramural settlement V07-72A	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2007
V.258	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 12356	Intramural settlement E. granary channel C 4.00 level 1	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	2008
V.259	Spindle whorl	Ceramic	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 12469	Intramural settlement E. granary channel E 10.00 level 1	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	2008
V.270	Bracelet	Copper alloy	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 98	Extramural settlement IX-XXXII road	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1971
V.271	Bracelet	Copper alloy	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 136	Extramural settlement S. of BH cold plunge	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1971
V.272	Bracelet	Copper alloy	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 205	Extramural settlement building XXIIIC	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1971
V.273	Bracelet	Copper alloy	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 270	Extramural settlement building XXII	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1971
V.274	Bracelet	Jet	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 376	Extramural settlement building XXX S	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1971
V.275	Bracelet	Green glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 503	Extramural settlement building XI	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1971
V.276	Bracelet	Jet	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 515	Extramural settlement building XXVII north room	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1971
V.277	Bracelet	Copper alloy	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 560	Extramural settlement building IV	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1971
V.278	Bracelet	Bone	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 562	Extramural settlement building XLV	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1971
V.279	Bracelet	Copper alloy	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 572	Extramural settlement building XXXVII	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1971

V.280	Bracelet	White glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 573	Extramural settlement building XXXV	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1971
V.281	Bracelet	Copper alloy	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 638	Extramural settlement building IV/XXXIV	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1972
V.282	Bracelet	Copper alloy	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 656	Extramural settlement building XXXI B	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1972
V.283	Bracelet	Jet	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 665	Extramural settlement building XXX S	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1972
V.284	Bracelet	Copper alloy	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 735	Extramural settlement building XXXIII S	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1972
V.285	Bracelet	Shale	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 765	Extramural settlement building XXXIV S	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1972
V.286	Bracelet	Copper alloy	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 829	Extramural settlement building XXXIII	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1972
V.287	Bracelet	Coloured glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1038	Extramural settlement road opp.IX	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1972
V.288	Bracelet	Copper alloy	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1160	Extramural settlement V138	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1972
V.289	Bracelet	Copper alloy	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1191	Extramural settlement building V	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1972
V.290	Bracelet	Copper alloy	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1740	Extramural settlement building XXVIII	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1976
V.291	Bracelet	Jet	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1820	Extramural settlement building XXVIII	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1976
V.292	Bracelet	Jet	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2059	Extramural settlement building VLI	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1976
V.293	Bracelet	White glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2099	Extramural settlement building XXVIII	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1976
V.294	Bracelet	Silver	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2271	Intramural settlement u/s NE latrine	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	1979
V.295	Bracelet	Shale	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2290	Intramural settlement Bidwell context 1	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	1980

V.296	Bracelet	Copper alloy	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2343	Intramural settlement Bidwell context 1	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	1980
V.297	Bracelet	Jet	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2394	Intramural settlement Bidwell context 1	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	1980
V.299	Bracelet	Copper alloy	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2509	Intramural settlement Bidwell context 25	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	1980
V.300	Bracelet	Shale	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2624	Intramural settlement Bidwell context 1	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	1980
V.301	Bracelet	Shale	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2791	Intramural settlement Bidwell context 1	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	1980
V.302	Bracelet	Copper alloy	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2822	Intramural settlement Bidwell context 1	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	1980
V.303	Bracelet	Copper alloy	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2971	Intramural settlement Bidwell context 190	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1980
V.304	Bracelet	Copper alloy	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 3055	Intramural settlement Bidwell context 360	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1980
V.305	Bracelet	Copper alloy	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 6166	Extramural settlement building LXX	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1993
V.306	Bracelet	Bone	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 6595	Extramural settlement building LXXII	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1994
V.308	Bracelet	Jet	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 7115	Intramural settlement V97-28 praetorium (Room II)	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	1997
V.309	Bracelet	Copper alloy	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 7188	Intramural settlement V97-70 praetorium (Room XIV)	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	1997
V.310	Bracelet	Copper alloy	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 7231	Intramural settlement V97-95 praetorium (Room III)	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	1997
V.311	Bracelet	Copper alloy	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 7268	Intramural settlement V97-98 praetorium (Room IV & V)	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	1997
V.312	Bracelet	Jet	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 7324	Intramural settlement V97-104 praetorium	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	1997
V.313	Bracelet	Copper alloy	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 7338	Intramural settlement V98-109 praetorium	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1998

V.314	Bracelet	Copper alloy	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 7370	Intramural settlement V98-111 praetorium	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1998
V.315	Bracelet	Bone	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 7380	Intramural settlement V98-133 praetorium	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	1998
V.316	Bracelet	Bone	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 7414	Intramural settlement V98-158 praetorium	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1998
V.317	Bracelet	Copper alloy	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 7433	Intramural settlement V98-168 praetorium	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	1998
V.318	Bracelet	Jet	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 7447	Intramural settlement V98-168 praetorium	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	1998
V.319	Bracelet	Copper alloy	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 7493	Intramural settlement V98-186 praetorium	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1998
V.324	Bracelet	Copper alloy	Unknown	Birley and Blake, 2007	SF 9998	Intramural settlement V05-22A	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	2005
V.325	Bracelet	Copper alloy	Unknown	Birley and Blake, 2007	SF 10014	Intramural settlement V05-17A	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	2005
V.326	Bracelet	Copper alloy	Unknown	Birley and Blake, 2007	SF 10030	Intramural settlement V05-20A	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2005
V.327	Bracelet	Copper alloy	Unknown	Birley and Blake, 2007	SF 10360	Extramural settlement V05B-23	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2005
V.332	Bracelet	Copper alloy	Unknown	Birley and Blake, 2007	SF 10453	Intramural settlement V06-06A	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	2006
V.334	Bracelet	Copper alloy	Unknown	Birley and Blake, 2007	SF 10488	Intramural settlement V06-13A	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2006
V.335	Bracelet	Copper alloy	Unknown	Birley and Blake, 2007	SF 10620	Intramural settlement V06-05A	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2006
V.340	Bracelet	Copper alloy	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 11749	Intramural settlement V08-3A	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	2008
V.357	Bracelet	Shale	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 12215	Intramural settlement E. granary channel A 7.50 level 1	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	2008
V.358	Bracelet	Shale	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 12231	Intramural settlement E. granary channel A 9.00 level 1	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	2008

V.359	Bracelet	Copper alloy	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 12498	Intramural settlement E. granary channel D level 1 17.50	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	2008
V.360	Bracelet	Copper alloy	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 12486	Intramural settlement E. granary channel E level 1 11.50	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2008
V.366	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	Birley, 2010	80	Extramural settlement S. of the Bath House Cold plunge	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970
V.367	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	Birley, 2010	101	Extramural settlement South of Caldarium - Bath House	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970
V.368	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	Birley, 2010	106	Extramural settlement Bath House - stoke hole	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970
V.369	Hairpin	Copper alloy	Unknown	Birley, 2010	119	Extramural settlement Bath House changing room	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970
V.370	Hairpin	Iron	Unknown	Birley, 2010	120	Extramural settlement Bath House changing room	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970
V.371	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	Birley, 2010	173	Extramural settlement Bath House - Latrine drain	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970
V.372	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	Birley, 2010	358	Extramural settlement near Western fort gate - ditch	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1972-74
V.373	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	Birley, 2010	424	Extramural settlement building XXX South	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1972-74
V.374	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	Birley, 2010	633	Intramural settlement NE fort wall near latrine	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1972-74
V.375	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	Birley, 2010	637	Intramural settlement NE fort wall near latrine	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1972-74
V.376	Hairpin	Jet	Unknown	Birley, 2010	651	Extramural settlement XXXIV SW corner	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970
V.377	Hairpin	Jet	Unknown	Birley, 2010	657	Extramural settlement building XXXII/XXXIII corridor	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970
V.378	Hairpin	Copper alloy	Unknown	Birley, 2010	668	Extramural settlement building XXXI	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970
V.379	Hairpin	Jet	Unknown	Birley, 2010	752	Extramural settlement building XXXIII S	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970

V.380	Hairpin	Copper alloy	Unknown	Birley, 2010	991	Extramural settlement opposite LXXVI -fort ditch	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1972-74
V.381	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	Birley, 2010	992	Extramural settlement opposite LXXVI	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1972-74
V.382	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	Birley, 2010	1072	Extramural settlement opposite LXXVIII	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1972-74
V.383	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	Birley, 2010	1179	Extramural settlement Bath House	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1972-74
V.384	Hairpin	Copper alloy	Unknown	Birley, 2010	1596	Extramural settlement opposite LXXVIII - fort ditch	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1972-74
V.385	Hairpin	Jet	Unknown	Birley, 2010	1604	Extramural settlement opposite LXXVIII - fort ditch	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1972-74
V.386	Hairpin	Jet	Unknown	Birley, 2010	1746	Extramural settlement E. of Bath House	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1972-74
V.387	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	Birley, 2010	1769	Extramural settlement E. of Bath House	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1972-74
V.388	Hairpin	Jet	Unknown	Birley, 2010	1788	Extramural settlement E. of Bath House	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1972-74
V.389	Hairpin	Copper alloy	Unknown	Birley, 2010	1855	Extramural settlement E. of Bath House	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1972-74
V.390	Hairpin	Copper alloy	Unknown	Birley, 2010	2139	Extramural settlement building LXXVI	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1972-74
V.391	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	Birley, 2010	2157	Extramural settlement building LXXVI	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1972-74
V.392	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	Birley, 2010	2217	Extramural settlement N. of North fort wall	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1972-74
V.393	Hairpin	Jet	Unknown	Birley, 2010	2329	Intramural settlement Bidwell - context 25* VPB79	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	1972-74
V.394	Hairpin	Copper alloy	Unknown	Birley, 2010	2409	Intramural settlement Bidwell context 10 - barracks	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	1981
V.395	Hairpin	Copper alloy	Unknown	Birley, 2010	3128	Intramural settlement Bidwell - context 314 VPN6	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1981

V.396	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	Birley, 2010	3128	Intramural settlement context 10 Bidwell	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	1981
V.397	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	Birley, 2010	3372	Extramural settlement Bath House	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1981
V.398	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	Birley, 2010	3373	Extramural settlement Bath House	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970
V.399	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	Birley, 2010	3374	Extramural settlement Bath House	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970
V.400	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	Birley, 2010	3375	Extramural settlement Bath House	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970
V.401	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	Birley, 2010	3376	Extramural settlement Bath House	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970
V.402	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	Birley, 2010	3378	Extramural settlement Bath House	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970
V.403	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	Birley, 2010	3379	Extramural settlement Bath House	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970
V.404	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	Birley, 2010	3380	Extramural settlement Bath House	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970
V.405	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	Birley, 2010	3381	Extramural settlement Bath House	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970
V.406	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	Birley, 2010	3382	Extramural settlement Bath House	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970
V.407	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	Birley, 2010	3489	Extramural settlement berm of western ditch - opposite LVXVIII	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1986
V.408	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	Birley, 2010	3490	Extramural settlement berm of western ditch - opposite LVXVIII	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1986
V.409	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	Birley, 2010	3501	Extramural settlement berm of western ditch - opposite LVXVIII	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1986

V.410	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	Birley, 2010	3514	Extramural settlement berm of western ditch - opposite LVXVIII	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1986
V.411	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	Birley, 2010	3718	Extramural settlement building LXXV	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1986
V.412	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	Birley, 2010	3829	Extramural settlement opposite LXXIV	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1986
V.413	Hairpin	Copper alloy	Unknown	Birley, 2010	3870	Extramural settlement opposite LXXIV - fort ditch	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1981
V.414	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	Birley, 2010	3871	Extramural settlement opposite LXXIV	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1986
V.415	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	Birley, 2010	3880	Extramural settlement opposite LXXIV	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1986
V.416	Hairpin	Iron	Unknown	Birley, 2010	3880	Extramural settlement opposite LXXIV - fort ditch	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1986
V.417	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	Birley, 2010	3972	Extramural settlement opposite LXXIV	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1986
V.418	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	Birley, 2010	4133	Extramural settlement building LXXII	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1988
V.419	Hairpin	Copper alloy	Unknown	Birley, 2010	4296	Extramural settlement building LXXII	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1986
V.420	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	Birley, 2010	4390	Extramural settlement building LXXII	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1988
V.421	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	Birley, 2010	4454	Extramural settlement building LXXII	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1988
V.422	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	Birley, 2010	5224	Extramural settlement opposite site LXX	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1991
V.423	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	Birley, 2010	5225	Extramural settlement opposite site LXX	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1991
V.424	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	Birley, 2010	5226	Extramural settlement opposite site LXX	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1991
V.425	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	Birley, 2010	5235	Extramural settlement opposite site LXX	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1991

V.426	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	Birley, 2010	5456	Extramural settlement opposite building V	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1991
V.427	Hairpin	Iron	Unknown	Birley, 2010	5639	Extramural settlement opposite building VI	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1991
V.428	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	Birley, 2010	5714	Extramural settlement building V	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1991
V.429	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	Birley, 2010	5807	Extramural settlement opposite building V	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1991
V.434	Hairpin	Bone	L: 67mm	Birley <i>et. al.</i> , 2002	7019	Intramural settlement praetorium praetorium 1997 V97-7	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	1997
V.435	Hairpin	Bone	L: 82mm	Birley <i>et. al.</i> , 2002	7021	Intramural settlement praetorium praetorium 1997 V97-7	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	1997
V.440	Hairpin	Bone	L: 77mm	Birley <i>et. al.</i> , 2002	7083	Intramural settlement praetorium 1997 V97-24 (Room I)	c. AD 370-400 (Period IX)	1997
V.441	Hairpin	Bone	L: 73mm	Birley <i>et. al.</i> , 2002	7084	Intramural settlement praetorium 1997 V97-24 (Room I)	c. AD 370-400 (Period IX)	1997
V.442	Hairpin	Bone	L: 110mm	Birley <i>et. al.</i> , 2002	7101	Intramural settlement praetorium 1997 V97-28 (Room II)	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	1997
V.443	Hairpin	Bone	L: 60mm	Birley <i>et. al.</i> , 2002	7102	Intramural settlement praetorium 1997 V97-15 (Room III)	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	1997
V.444	Hairpin	Bone	L: 75mm	Birley <i>et. al.</i> , 2002	7117	Intramural settlement praetorium 1997 V97-28 (Room II)	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	1997
V.445	Hairpin	Bone	L: 51mm	Birley <i>et. al.</i> , 2002	7145	Intramural settlement praetorium 1997 V97-46	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1997
V.446	Hairpin	Jet	L: 59mm	Birley <i>et. al.</i> , 2002	7226	Intramural settlement praetorium V97-91	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	1997

V.447	Hairpin	Bone	L: 110mm	Birley <i>et. al.</i> , 2002	7229	Intramural settlement praetorium 1997 V97-91	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	1997
V.448	Hairpin	Bone	L: 105mm	Birley <i>et. al.</i> , 2002	7230	Intramural settlement praetorium 1997 V97-95 (Room III)	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	1997
V.449	Hairpin	Bone	L: 57mm	Birley <i>et. al.</i> , 2002	7238	Intramural settlement praetorium 1997 V97-83 (Latrine)	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	1997
V.450	Hairpin	Bone	L: 36mm	Birley <i>et. al.</i> , 2002	7246	Intramural settlement praetorium 1997 V97-95 (Room III)	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	1997
V.451	Hairpin	Bone	L: 104mm	Birley <i>et. al.</i> , 2002	7263	Intramural settlement praetorium 1997 V97-98 (Room IV and V)	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	1997
V.452	Hairpin	Bone	L: 80mm	Birley <i>et. al.</i> , 2002	7270	Intramural settlement praetorium 1997 V97-92	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1997
V.456	Hairpin	Bone	Length:	Birley, 2010	7392	Intramural settlement praetorium 1998 V98-141	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	1998
V.457	Hairpin	Copper alloy	Length:	Birley, 2010	7393	Intramural settlement praetorium V98-141	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	1997
V.458	Hairpin	Bone	Length:	Birley, 2010	7394	Intramural settlement praetorium 1998 V98-142	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1998
V.459	Hairpin	Bone	Length:	Birley, 2010	7418	Intramural settlement praetorium 1998 V98-159	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1998
V.460	Hairpin	Bone	Length:	Birley, 2010	7467	Intramural settlement praetorium 1998 V98-168	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1998
V.465	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	Birley and Blake, 2007	SF 10008	Intramural settlement V05-20A - Western fort rampart	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	2005
V.466	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	Birley and Blake, 2007	SF 10025	Extramural settlement V05-25A - Western ditch burm	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2005
V.467	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	Birley and Blake, 2007	SF 10105	Extramural settlement V05-29A top of Western ditch	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2005

V.468	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	Birley and Blake, 2007	SF 10201	Extramural settlement V05-25A - Western ditch burm	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2005
V.470	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	Birley and Blake, 2007	SF 10524	Intramural settlement V06-05A - Western fort rampart	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	2006
V.474	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	Birley and Blake, 2007	SF 10658	Intramural settlement V06-05A - Western fort rampart	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	2006
V.475	Hairpin	Copper alloy	Unknown	Birley, 2010	11075	Intramural settlement V07-14A	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2007
V.476	Hairpin	Iron	Unknown	Birley, 2010	11137	Intramural settlement V07-24A	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2007
V.477	Hairpin	Copper alloy	Unknown	Birley, 2010	11413	Intramural settlement V07-70A	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2007
V.487	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	Birley, 2010	115a	Extramural settlement Bath House changing room	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970
V.488	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	Birley, 2010	115b	Extramural settlement Bath House	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970
V.489	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	Birley, 2010	116a	Extramural settlement Bath House	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970
V.490	Hairpin	Copper alloy	Unknown	Birley, 2010	3995a	Extramural settlement building LXXIII	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1986
V.491	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1073	Extramural settlement opposite building LXXVIII	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1972-74
V.492	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 61	Extramural settlement Bath House stoke hole	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970
V.494	Bead	Copper alloy	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 112	Extramural settlement Bath House caldarium floor	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970
V.495	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 113	Extramural settlement Bath House changing room floor	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970
V.496	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 121	Extramural settlement Bath House changing room floor	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970
V.497	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 125	Extramural settlement building XXIV	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970

V.498	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 135	Extramural settlement Bath House latrine drain	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970
V.499	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 140	Extramural settlement Bath House Tepidarium floor	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970
V.500	Bead	Amber	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 142	Extramural settlement Bath House latrine drain	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970
V.501	Bead	Gold in glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 158	Extramural settlement Bath House latrine drain	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970
V.502	Bead	Amber	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 160	Extramural settlement Bath House latrine drain	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970
V.503	Bead	Jet	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 170	Extramural settlement Bath House latrine drain	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970
V.504	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 171	Extramural settlement Bath House latrine drain	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970
V.505	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 174	Extramural settlement latrine drain Bath House	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970
V.506	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 183	Extramural settlement South of cold plunge bath	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970
V.507	Bead	Yellow glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 185	Extramural settlement Bath House	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970
V.508	Bead	Jet	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 186	Extramural settlement Bath House latrine drain	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970
V.509	Bead	Copper alloy	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 191	Extramural settlement building XXIV	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970
V.510	Bead	Copper alloy	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 201	Extramural settlement building XXIIIC	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970
V.511	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 215	Extramural settlement West of site XIV	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970
V.512	Bead	Green glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 221	Extramural settlement building XXIIIC	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970
V.513	Bead	Gold in glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 247	Extramural settlement building XXI	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-72

V.514	Bead	Copper alloy	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 251	Extramural settlement building XXIIIC	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-72
V.515	Bead	Jet	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 252	Extramural settlement building XXVII SE corner	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-72
V.516	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 256	Extramural settlement building XXVII	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-72
V.517	Bead	Specialist glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 260	Extramural settlement building XXII road drain	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-72
V.518	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 264	Extramural settlement building XXVI - on roadway to the south	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-72
V.519	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 283	Extramural settlement building XXI	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-72
V.520	Bead	Jet	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 318	Extramural settlement building XXV floor	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-72
V.521	Bead	Jet	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 367	Extramural settlement on the flags to the North of the West gate	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-72
V.522	Bead	Jet	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 371	Extramural settlement West of West gate above ditch	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-72
V.524	Bead	Specialist glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 396	Extramural settlement building XXX East of vent channels	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-72
V.525	Bead	Yellow glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 423	Extramural settlement building XXX furnace to the South	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-72
V.526	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 425	Extramural settlement building XXX centre	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-72
V.527	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 478	Extramural settlement road outside West gate	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-72
V.528	Bead	Jet	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 508	Extramural settlement building XXVII North room	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-72
V.529	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 522	Extramural settlement building XLII	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-72
V.530	Bead	Jet	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 523	Extramural settlement building XXVIIC	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-72

V.531	Bead	Green glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 527	Extramural settlement building XIV	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-72
V.532	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 537	Extramural settlement building XLII	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-72
V.533	Bead	Jet	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 576	Extramural settlement building XXXV north	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-72
V.534	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 586	Extramural settlement building XXXVIII	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-72
V.535	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 598	Extramural settlement building XXIV	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-72
V.536	Bead	Green glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 599	Extramural settlement building XXX	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-72
V.537	Bead	Yellow glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 603	Extramural settlement building XXIX drain in West wall	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-72
V.538	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 621	Extramural settlement building XXIX	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-72
V.539	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 639	Extramural settlement building XXXIV north end	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-72
V.540	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 651	Extramural settlement building XXX S	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-72
V.541	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 677	Extramural settlement building XXXIV A	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-72
V.543	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 690	Extramural settlement building XXXII	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-72
V.544	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 693	Extramural settlement building LXXVIII - road to East	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-72
V.545	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 695	Extramural settlement building XXXII	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-72
V.546	Bead	Gold in glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 697	Extramural settlement building XXXII	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-72
V.547	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 712	Extramural settlement building XXXII	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-72

V.548	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 734	Extramural settlement building XXX	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-72
V.549	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 757	Extramural settlement building XXXI	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-72
V.550	Bead	Green glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 763	Extramural settlement building V	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-72
V.551	Bead	Green glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 771	Extramural settlement building XXXII	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-72
V.552	Bead	Gold in glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 772	Extramural settlement building XXXII	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-72
V.553	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 782	Extramural settlement building LXXV	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-72
V.554	Bead	Terracotta glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 783	Extramural settlement building LXXIV	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-72
V.555	Bead	Green glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 794	Extramural settlement building LXXIV	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-72
V.556	Bead	Copper alloy	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 795	Extramural settlement building LXXIV	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-72
V.557	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 801	Extramural settlement building LXXV	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-72
V.558	Bead	Jet	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 810	Extramural settlement building LXXIV last floor	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-72
V.559	Bead	Jet	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 812	Extramural settlement building XXXIII	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-72
V.560	Bead	Specialist glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 830	Extramural settlement building XXXI	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-72
V.561	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 854	Extramural settlement building XXXII	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-72
V.563	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 905	Extramural settlement building LXXVI	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-72
V.564	Bead	Specialist glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 923	Extramural settlement building XXX S	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-72

V.565	Bead	Jet	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 945	Extramural settlement amongst rubble in the mausoleum	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-72
V.566	Bead	Green glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1044	Extramural settlement W. fort ditch	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-72
V.567	Bead	Green glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1173	Extramural settlement building XXXII centre	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1972-74
V.568	Bead	Gold in glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1176	Extramural settlement building IX/XXX alleyway	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1972-74
V.569	Bead	Green glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1216	Extramural settlement building LXXVIII - to East	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1972-74
V.570	Bead	Green glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1218	Extramural settlement building LXXV	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1972-74
V.571	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1229	Extramural settlement building LXXV	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1972-74
V.572	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1269	Extramural settlement building LXXVII	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1972-74
V.573	Bead	Green glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1273	Extramural settlement building LXXVIII - to East	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1972-74
V.574	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1284	Extramural settlement building LXXV	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1972-74
V.575	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1331	Extramural settlement building Bath House Tepidarium floor	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1972-74
V.576	Bead	Terracotta glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1340	Extramural settlement building Bath House changing room	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1972-74
V.577	Bead	Gold in glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1352	Extramural settlement building LXXVIII	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1972-74
V.578	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1368	Extramural settlement building LXXV on roadway to the East	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1972-74
V.579	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1381	Extramural settlement building LXXVIII	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1972-74
V.581	Bead	Gold in glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1396	Extramural settlement building LXXV	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1972-74

V.582	Bead	Green glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1397	Extramural settlement building LXXV	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1972-74
V.583	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1398	Extramural settlement building LXXV on floor	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1972-74
V.584	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1465	Extramural settlement building LXXXII	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1972-74
V.586	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1486	Extramural settlement building LXXV	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1972-74
V.587	Bead	Terracotta glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1503	Extramural settlement building LXXIV	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1972-74
V.588	Bead	Jet	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1509	Extramural settlement building LXXIV	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1972-74
V.589	Bead	Green glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1510	Extramural settlement building LXXIX foundation	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1972-74
V.591	Bead	Terracotta glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1526	Extramural settlement building LXXVIII	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1972-74
V.593	Bead	Green glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1687	Extramural settlement building LXXX	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1974-76
V.594	Bead	Green glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1703	Extramural settlement building LXXX	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1974-76
V.595	Bead	Green glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1704	Extramural settlement building XXVIII	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1974-76
V.596	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1743	Extramural settlement building LXXXII	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1974-76
V.597	Bead	Specialist glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1747	Extramural settlement building LXXX	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1974-76
V.598	Bead	Jet	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1761	Extramural settlement building LXXX	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1974-76
V.599	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1779	Extramural settlement building LXXXII	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1974-76
V.600	Bead	Yellow glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1785	Extramural settlement building N. of LXXXVI	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1974-76

V.601	Bead	Green glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1795	Extramural settlement building LXXXIV	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1974-76
V.602	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1803	Extramural settlement building LXXXVII	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1974-76
V.603	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1805	Extramural settlement E. of building XXIXB	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1974-76
V.604	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1830	Extramural settlement building LXXXIV	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1974-76
V.605	Bead	Gold in glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1866	Extramural settlement building LXXXVI	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1974-76
V.606	Bead	Green glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1875	Extramural settlement building LXXX	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1974-76
V.607	Bead	Jet	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1886	Extramural settlement E. of building XXIXB	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1974-76
V.608	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1887	Extramural settlement building LXXXII	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1974-76
V.609	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1889	Extramural settlement building LXXXV	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1974-76
V.610	Bead	Green glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1901	Extramural settlement building LXXXV	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1974-76
V.611	Bead	Green glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1912	Extramural settlement E. of building XXIXB	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1974-76
V.612	Bead	Jet	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1931	Extramural settlement building XXIXB	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1974-76
V.613	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1937	Extramural settlement building LXXXVII	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1974-76
V.614	Bead	Yellow glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1942	Extramural settlement building LXXXIV	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1974-76
V.615	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1943	Extramural settlement building LXXXIV	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1974-76
V.616	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1957	Extramural settlement building XXIXB	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1974-76

V.617	Bead	Specialist glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1990	Extramural settlement building LXXXIV	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1974-76
V.618	Bead	Gold in glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1993	Extramural settlement building LXXXIV	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1974-76
V.619	Bead	Green glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1994	Extramural settlement building XXIX	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1974-76
V.620	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1996	Extramural settlement building XXIXB to the East	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1974-76
V.621	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 1999	Extramural settlement building XXIXB to the East	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1974-76
V.622	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2012	Extramural settlement building XXIXB	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1974-76
V.623	Bead	Specialist glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2018	Extramural settlement building XXIXB	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1974-76
V.624	Bead	Gold in glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2019	Extramural settlement building XXIXB to East	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1974-76
V.625	Bead	Green glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2065	Extramural settlement building XXIXB West side	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1974-76
V.626	Bead	Green glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2072	Extramural settlement building LXXXV	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1974-76
V.627	Bead	Green glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2077	Extramural settlement building XXIXB	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1974-76
V.628	Bead	Yellow glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2082	Extramural settlement building XXVIII	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1974-76
V.629	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2084	Extramural settlement building XXIXB	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1974-76
V.630	Bead	Green glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2088	Extramural settlement building XXIXB	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1974-76
V.631	Bead	Gold in glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2091	Extramural settlement building LXXXVIII/LXXXV I drain	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1974-76
V.632	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2098	Extramural settlement building LXXXII	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1974-76

V.633	Bead	Terracotta glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2101	Extramural settlement building LXXXVI	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1974-76
V.634	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2106	Extramural settlement building XXVIII in drain	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1974-76
V.635	Bead	Specialist glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2109	Extramural settlement building LXXXV	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1974-76
V.636	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2117	Extramural settlement building LXXXIV	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1974-76
V.637	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2125	Extramural settlement building XXVIII	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1974-76
V.638	Bead	Green glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2126	Extramural settlement building XXVIII	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1974-76
V.639	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2134	Extramural settlement building LXXXI	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1976-78
V.640	Bead	Green glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2136	Extramural settlement building LXXXVI	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1976-78
V.641	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2137	Extramural settlement building LXXXVI	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1976-78
V.642	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2143	Extramural settlement building LXXXVI	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1976-78
V.643	Bead	Gold in glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2145	Extramural settlement building LXXXVI	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1976-78
V.644	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2151	Extramural settlement building XXVIII B	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1976-78
V.645	Bead	Yellow glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2159	Extramural settlement building XXVIII	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1976-78
V.646	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2161	Extramural settlement building XXIX	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1976-78
V.647	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2164	Extramural settlement building LXXXIV	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1976-78
V.648	Bead	Gold in glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2172	Extramural settlement building XXVIII B	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1976-78

V.650	Bead	Green glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2205	Extramural settlement building XXVIII	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1976-78
V.651	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2206	Extramural settlement building XXVIII	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1979
V.652	Bead	Gold in glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2207	Extramural settlement building XXVIII	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1979
V.653	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2208	Extramural settlement building XXVIII	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1979
V.656	Bead	Green glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2287	Intramural settlement Bidwell context I VPG2	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	1981
V.657	Bead	Jet	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2339	Intramural settlement Bidwell context I VPJs6 Building IIIB	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	1981
V.658	Bead	Jet	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2340	Intramural settlement Bidwell context I VPJs5 Building IIIB	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	1981
V.659	Bead	Jet	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2342	Intramural settlement Bidwell context I VPJs4	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	1981
V.661	Bead	Copper alloy	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2457	Intramural settlement Bidwell context I VPG29	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	1981
V.662	Bead	Copper alloy	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2477	Intramural settlement Bidwell context 25* VPB77	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	1981
V.663	Bead	Jet	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2482	Intramural settlement Bidwell context 25 VPJsI3	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	1981
V.664	Bead	Jet	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2493	Intramural settlement Bidwell context 25 vpjSL 1	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	1981
V.665	Bead	Jet	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2497	Intramural settlement Bidwell context 25* VPJsI2	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	1981
V.668	Bead	Gold in glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2619	Intramural settlement Bidwell context 114 VPG31 Building IIIA/IIIB	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	1981
V.669	Bead	Copper alloy	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2749	Intramural settlement Bidwell context I VPBIO	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	1981
V.671	Bead	Terracotta glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2840	Extramural settlement road way outside North fort gate -	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	1981

						level vicus 2 PSB/80/13 floor clearance		
V.672	Bead	Jet	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2849	Intramural settlement Bidwell context I VPJs9	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	1981
V.673	Bead	Specialist glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2853	Extramural settlement roadway to the North of the fort	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	1981
V.674	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2854	Extramural settlement road leading out of North fort gate	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	1981
V.676	Bead	Green glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 3300	Extramural settlement South of building II	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1985
V.677	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 3383	Extramural settlement Bath House	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1985
V.678	Bead	Amber	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 3462	Extramural settlement building LXXVIII	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1985
V.679	Bead	Amber	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 3465	Extramural settlement building LXXVIII	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1986
V.680	Bead	Amber	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 3466	Extramural settlement building LXXVIII	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1986
V.681	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 3566	Extramural settlement building LXXVIII on road to the East	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1986
V.682	Bead	Specialist glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 5109	Extramural settlement building LXXV	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1989-90
V.683	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 5223	Extramural settlement building LXXIII - West lip of fort ditch	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1989-90
V.684	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 6095	Extramural settlement East of building XXIXB	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1989-90
V.685	Bead	Green glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 6168	Extramural settlement building LXX	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1992
V.686	Bead	Gold in glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 6414	Extramural settlement building LXXIV	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1993
V.688	Bead	Amber	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 7020	Intramural settlement praetorium V97-7	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	1997

V.690	Bead	Green glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 7210	Intramural settlement praetorium V97-84 (Latrine)	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	1997
V.691	Bead	Green glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 7479	Intramural settlement praetorium V98-168	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	1998
V.692	Bead	Copper alloy	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 7483	Intramural settlement praetorium V98-180	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1998
V.693	Bead	Copper alloy	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 7496	Intramural settlement praetorium V98-186	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1998
V.700	Bead	Yellow glass	Unknown	Blake, 2001	SF 7755	Intramural settlement Southern fort defences	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2000
V.702	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Blake, 2001	SF 8048	Intramural settlement SW corner of SFII	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2000
V.703	Bead	Green glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 8273	Extramural settlement far Western vicus roadway (B) West of XLIX - V01B-25	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2001
V.704	Bead	Green glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 8274	Extramural settlement roadway outside XLIX V01B-25	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2001
V.705	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 8585	Extramural settlement building XXXVIII V02-09A	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2002
V.706	Bead	Green glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 8759	Extramural settlement West of XLIX V02B-23	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2002
V.707	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 8793	Extramural settlement building XLIX - context V02B-23	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2002
V.709	Bead	Green glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 8919	Extramural settlement outside building CXXIII	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2003
V.711	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 9008	Extramural settlement building CXI V03-01A	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2003
V.712	Bead	Yellow glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 9267	Extramural settlement building CXIV	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2003
V.713	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 9272	Extramural settlement building CXII	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2003-4

V.715	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 9314	Extramural settlement roadway North of building CXXIII, far West	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2003-4
V.716	Bead	Gold in glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 9329	Extramural settlement building CXXII	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2003-4
V.717	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 9333	Extramural settlement building CXXII	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2003-4
V.718	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 9347	Extramural settlement on road outside building CXXII	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2003-4
V.719	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 9371	Extramural settlement West of workshop building CXXII	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2003-4
V.721	Bead	Yellow glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 9419	Extramural settlement building CXIV	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2004
V.722	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 9543	Extramural settlement building CXIV	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2004
V.723	Bead	Green glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 9583	Extramural settlement context V04-57 CXIII	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2004
V.724	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 9618	Extramural settlement East of Mausoleum	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2004
V.725	Bead	Green glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 9706	Extramural settlement building CXXI floor	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2004
V.726	Bead	Green glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 9713	Extramural settlement building CXXIII floor	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2004
V.728	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 9731	Extramural settlement late drain North of building CXXII	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2004
V.729	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley and Blake, 2007	SF 9806	Extramural settlement V05B-14	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2005
V.730	Bead	Green glass	Unknown	Birley and Blake, 2007	SF 9807	Extramural settlement V05B-14	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2005
V.731	Bead	Green glass	Unknown	Birley and Blake, 2007	SF 9808	Extramural settlement V05B-14	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2005
V.732	Bead	Terracotta glass	Unknown	Birley and Blake, 2007	SF 9810	Extramural settlement V05B-10	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2005

V.733	Bead	Yellow glass	Unknown	Birley and Blake, 2007	SF 9814	Extramural settlement V05B-18	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2005
V.736	Bead	Terracotta glass	Unknown	Birley and Blake, 2007	SF 9819	Extramural settlement V05B-19	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2005
V.737	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley and Blake, 2007	SF 9834	Extramural settlement V05B-16	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2005
V.739	Bead	Green glass	Unknown	Birley and Blake, 2007	SF 9895	Extramural settlement V06B-18	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2006
V.741	Bead	Jet	Unknown	Birley and Blake, 2007	SF 10181	Intramural settlement V05-17A	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	2005
V.742	Bead	Jet	Unknown	Birley and Blake, 2007	SF 10194	Extramural settlement V05-29A - Western fort ditch burm - next to fort wall	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2005
V.743	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley and Blake, 2007	SF 10200	Extramural settlement V05-30A - re-built outer face of fort wall South West side	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	2005
V.746	Bead	Specialist glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 11096	Extramural settlement V07-27A	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2007
V.747	Bead	Specialist glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF11099	Extramural settlement V07-27A	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2007
V.748	Bead	Green glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 11101	Extramural settlement V07-27A	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2007
V.749	Bead	Terracotta glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 11102	Extramural settlement V07-27A	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2007
V.751	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 11116	Extramural settlement V07-28A	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2007
V.752	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 11117	Extramural settlement V07-28A	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2007
V.753	Bead	Green glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 11144	Extramural settlement V07-26A	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2007
V.754	Bead	Jet	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 176a	Extramural settlement Bath House latrine drain	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970

V.755	Bead	Yellow glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 176B	Extramural settlement Bath House latrine drain	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970
V.756	Bead	Green glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 176c	Extramural settlement Bath House latrine drain	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970
V.757	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 179a	Extramural settlement Bath House latrine drain	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970
V.758	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 179b	Extramural settlement Bath House latrine drain	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970
V.759	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 179c	Extramural settlement Bath House latrine drain	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970
V.760	Bead	Terracotta glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 179D	Extramural settlement Bath House latrine drain	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970
V.761	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 184a	Extramural settlement South of cold plunge bath	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970
V.762	Bead	Gold in glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 184B	Extramural settlement South of Bath House cold plunge bath	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970
V.763	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2138a	Extramural settlement building LXXXVI	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1974-76
V.764	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2138b	Extramural settlement building LXXXVI	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1974-76
V.765	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2138c	Extramural settlement building LXXXVI	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1974-76
V.766	Bead	Green glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2138c	Extramural settlement building LXXXVI	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1974-76
V.767	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2138d	Extramural settlement building LXXXVI	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1974-76
V.768	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 2138e	Extramural settlement building LXXXVI	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1974-76
V.769	Bead	Gold in glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 317A	Extramural settlement building XXV C	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-72
V.770	Bead	Gold in glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 317B	Extramural settlement building XXV C	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-72

V.771	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 636a	Extramural settlement building XXIV	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-72
V.772	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 636b	Extramural settlement building XXIV	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-72
V.773	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 636c	Extramural settlement building XXIV	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-72
V.774	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 636d	Extramural settlement building XXIV	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-72
V.776	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 636f	Extramural settlement building XXIV	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-72
V.777	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 636h	Extramural settlement building XXIV	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-72
V.778	Bead	Green glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 721a	Extramural settlement building LXXIV	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-72
V.779	Bead	Green glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 721b	Extramural settlement building LXXIV	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-72
V.780	Bead	Green glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 811a	Extramural settlement building LXXIV	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-72
V.781	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 811b	Extramural settlement building LXXIV	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-72
V.782	Bead	Terracotta glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 8A	Extramural settlement Bath House	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970
V.783	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 8b	Extramural settlement Bath House changing room	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970
V.784	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 8c	Extramural settlement Bath House	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970
V.785	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 8d	Extramural settlement Bath House	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970
V.786	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 966a	Extramural settlement West of building XIV	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-72
V.787	Bead	Green glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 966b	Extramural settlement West of mansio in clay	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-72

V.788	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 966c	Extramural settlement building XV	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-72
V.789	Bead	Specialist glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 966c	Extramural settlement West of building XIV	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-72
V.790	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley, 2010	SF 966d	Extramural settlement building XIV	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1970-72
V.793	Bead	Blue glass	Unknown	Birley and Blake, 2007	SF 10717	Intramural settlement V06-58A	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2006
V.794	Bead	Terracotta glass	Unknown	Birley and Blake, 2007	SF 10538	Intramural settlement V06-12A	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	2006
V.796	Bead	Shell	Unknown	Birley and Blake, 2007	SF 10551	Intramural settlement V06-05A	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2006
V.797	Bead	Clear glass	Unknown	Birley and Blake, 2007	SF 10443	Intramural settlement V06-06A	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	2006
V.798	Bead	Green glass	Unknown	Birley and Blake, 2007	SF 10410	Intramural settlement V06-03A	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	2006
V.799	Bead	Green glass	Unknown	Birley and Blake, 2007	SF 10505	Intramural settlement V06-07A	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2006
V.810	Bead	Green glass	W: 4mm, L: 9mm, Perforation: 2mm	Birley, 2013	SF 11775	Intramural settlement V08-7A	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2008
V.811	Bead	Blue glass	W: 8mm, L: 4mm, Perforation: 2mm	Birley, 2013	SF 11962	Intramural settlement V08-04A	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	2008
V.813	Bead	Green glass	W: 6mm, L: 3mm, Perforation: 2mm	Birley, 2013	SF 11808	Intramural settlement V08-17A	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	2008
V.814	Bead	Blue glass	W: 5mm, L: 3mm, Perforation: 1mm	Birley, 2013	SF 11809	Intramural settlement V08-17A	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	2008
V.815	Bead	Green glass	W: 5mm, L: 3mm, Perforation: 3mm	Birley, 2013	SF 11810	Intramural settlement V08-17A	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	2008
V.816	Bead	Blue glass	W: 6mm, L: 3mm, Perforation: 2mm	Birley, 2013	SF 11812	Intramural settlement V08-12A	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	2008
V.817	Bead	Green glass	W: 4mm, L: 5mm	Birley, 2013	SF 11813	Intramural settlement V08-12A	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	2008

V.818	Bead	Blue glass	W: 4mm, L: 2mm, Perforation: 1mm	Birley, 2013	SF 11814	Intramural settlement V08-17A	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	2008
V.819	Bead	Green glass	W: 5mm, L: 3mm, Perforation: 2mm	Birley, 2013	SF 11835	Intramural settlement V08-12A	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	2008
V.820	Bead	Green glass	W: 6mm, L: 3mm, Perforation: 1mm	Birley, 2013	SF 11850	Intramural settlement V08-17A	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	2008
V.821	Bead	Green glass	W: 5mm, L: 3mm, Perforation: 2mm	Birley, 2013	SF 11851	Intramural settlement V08-17A	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	2008
V.822	Bead	Green glass	W: 9mm, L: 8mm, Perforation: 1mm	Birley, 2013	SF 11853	Intramural settlement V08-17A	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	2008
V.824	Bead	Blue glass	W: 4mm, L: 2mm, Perforation: 2mm	Birley, 2013	SF 11892	Intramural settlement V08-17A	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	2008
V.825	Bead	Green glass	W: 5mm, L: 10mm, Perforation: 2mm	Birley, 2013	SF 11893	Intramural settlement V08-17A	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	2008
V.826	Bead	gold-in-glass	W: 7mm, L: 6mm, Perforation: 1mm	Birley, 2013	SF 11899	Intramural settlement V08-17A	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	2008
V.828	Bead	Green glass	W: 6mm, L: 4mm, Perforation: 1mm	Birley, 2013	SF 11915	Intramural settlement V08-4A	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	2008
V.829	Bead	Blue glass	W: 5mm, L: 3mm, Perforation: 2mm	Birley, 2013	SF 11963	Intramural settlement V08-04A	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	2008
V.830	Bead	Blue glass	W: 5mm, L: 3mm, Perforation: 2mm	Birley, 2013	SF 11980	Intramural settlement V08-04A	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	2008
V.831	Bead	Blue glass	W: 5mm, L: 3mm, Perforation: 2mm	Birley, 2013	SF 12012	Intramural settlement V08-17A	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	2008
V.832	Bead	Blue glass	W: 3mm, L: 5mm, Perforation: 1mm	Birley, 2013	SF 12018	Intramural settlement V08-12A	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	2008
V.833	Bead	Green glass	W: 5mm, L: 9mm, Perforation: 3mm	Birley, 2013	SF 12024	Intramural settlement V08-04A	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	2008
V.840	Bead	Blue glass	W: 2mm, L: 2mm	Birley, 2013	SF 12213	Intramural settlement V08-32A	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	2008
V.841	Bead	Blue glass	W: 9mm, L: 4mm, Perforation: 1mm	Birley, 2013	SF 12264	Intramural settlement V08-41A	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2008

V.844	Bead	Blue glass	W: 7mm, L: 14mm, Perforation: 7mm	Birley, 2013	SF 12285	Intramural settlement East granary channel B13.00 level 1	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	2008
V.846	Bead	Blue glass	W: 9mm, L: 4mm, Perforation: 2mm	Birley, 2013	SF 12311	Intramural settlement V08-12A	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	2008
V.849	Bead	Bone	W: 5mm, L: 1mm, Perforation: 1mm	Birley, 2013	SF 12391	Intramural settlement East granary FLUE I.4 level 2	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	2008
V.854	Bead	Green glass	W: 3mm, L: 4mm, Perforation: 1mm	Birley, 2013	SF 12455	Intramural settlement V08-66A	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	2008
V.855	Bead	Blue glass	W: 4mm, L: 9mm, Perforation: 2mm	Birley, 2013	SF 12493	Intramural settlement V08-51A	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	2008
V.900	Bracelet	Shale	D: 7.4cm	Blake, 2001	SF 8010	Intramural settlement	c. AD 205-212 (Period VIB)	2000
V.901	Bracelet	Bronze	Unknown	Blake, 2001	SF 8100	Intramural settlement	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	2000
V.902	Hairpin	Bone	Unknown	Blake, 2001	SF 7972	Intramural settlement	c. AD 205-212 (Period VIB)	2000
V.903	Bead	Glass	D: 10mm, T: 0.5cm	Blake, 2001	SF 7874	Intramural settlement	c. AD 300-400 (Periods VIII-IX)	2000
V.904	Bead	Opaque Greenish Blue Glass	Unknown	Bidwell, 1985	56	Intramural settlement Building IIIA	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1981-85
V.905	Bead	Opaque mid- blue glass	Unknown	Bidwell, 1985	58	Intramural settlement Building IIA	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1981-85
V.906	Bead	Colourless with Gold foil	Unknown	Bidwell, 1985	62	Intramural settlement Building IIIA	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1981-85
V.907	Bead	Opaque turquoise Blue	L: 7.5mm D: 4mm	Bidwell, 1985	77	Intramural settlement Building IIIA	c. AD 213-300 (Periods VII)	1981-85

List of References

Primary Sources

- Cato, Marcus. De Agricultura. Loeb Classical Library. URL: www.penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Cato/De_Agricultura/J*.html. Last accessed 9th August 2018.
- Herodian, 3.8.4-5. URL: <http://www.livius.org/sources/content/herodian-s-roman-history/herodian-3.8/>. Last accessed 18th December 2017.
- Julius Caesar, De Bello Gallico. Book 6. Translated by W. A. McDevitte and W. S. Bohn. URL: <http://mcadams.posc.mu.edu/txt/ah/Caesar/CaesarGal06.html>, Last accessed 2nd September 2018.
- Livy. The History of Rome (ed.) Rev. Canon Roberts. URL: <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.02.0026%3Abook%3D2%3Achapter%3D23>. Last accessed 22nd August 2018.
- Pliny the Elder. The Natural History. Translated by John Bostock. <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/>. Last accessed 1st April 2018.
- Strabo. Geography. Loeb Classical Library. URL: http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Strabo/4D*.html. Last accessed 22nd August 2018.
- Suetonius. The Life of Augustus, trans. B. Thayer. 1913. Loeb Classical Library. URL: http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Suetonius/12Caesars/Augustus*.html. Last accessed 14th December 2018.
- Tacitus, Germany and its Tribes. A. J. Church and W. J. Brodribb (eds.). URL: www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.02.0083%3Achapter%3D38. Last accessed 26th March 2016.
- Tacitus, Histories. <http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Tacitus/home.html>. Last accessed 9 December 2016.

Secondary Sources

- Adams, C., 2001. There and Back Again: Getting Around in Roman Egypt. In C. Adams and R. Laurence (eds.), *Travel and Geography in the Roman Empire*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 138-166.
- Adams, J. N., 1995. The Language of the Vindolanda Writing Tablets: An Interim Report. *The Journal of Roman Studies*, vol. 85, pp. 86-134.
- Allason-Jones, L., 1988. Small Finds from Turrets on Hadrian's Wall. In J. C. Coulton (ed.), *Military Equipment and the Identity of Roman Soldiers: Proceedings of the 4th Roman Military Equipment Conference*. Oxford: BAR 394, pp. 197-233.
- Allason-Jones, L., 1989. *Women in Roman Britain*. London: British Museum Publications.
- Allason-Jones, L., 1995. 'Sexing' Small Finds. In P. Rush (ed.), *Theoretical Roman Archaeology: Second Conference Proceedings*. *Worldwide Archaeology Series*, vol. 14. Aldershot: Avebury/Ashgate, pp. 22-32.
- Allason-Jones, L., 1996a. *Roman Jet in the Yorkshire Museum*. York: Yorkshire Museum.
- Allason-Jones, L., 1996b. Museum Note: Roman Military and Domestic Artefacts from Great Chesters. In *Archaeologia Aeliana*, vol. 24, series 5, pp. 187-214.
- Allason-Jones, L., 1999. Health Care in the Roman North. In *Britannia*, vol. 30. Cambridge University Press, pp. 133-146.
- Allason-Jones, L., 2008. The Family in Roman Britain. In M. Todd (ed.), *A Companion to Roman Britain*. London: John Wiley and Sons, pp. 273-287.
- Allason-Jones, L., 2013. The Vicus at Housesteads: A Case Study in Material Culture and Roman Life. In R. Collins & M. Symonds (eds.), *Breaking Down Boundaries Hadrian's Wall in the 1st Century*. *Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series*, pp. 71-84.
- Allason-Jones, L. & Miket, R., 1984. *The Catalogue of Small Finds from South Shields Roman Fort*. Monograph Series no. 2. The Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle Upon Tyne.

- Allison, P. M., 1997a. Artefact Distribution and Spatial Function in Pompeian Houses. In B. Rawson and P. Weaver (eds.), *The Roman Military in Italy: Status, Sentiment and Space*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, pp. 321-354.
- Allison, P. M., 1997b. Roman Households: An Archaeological Perspective. In H. Parkins (ed.), *Roman Urbanism: Beyond the Consumer City*. London: Routledge, pp. 112-146.
- Allison, P. M., 1997c. Why Do Excavation Reports Have Finds' Catalogues? In C. G. Cumberpatch and P. W. Blinkhorn (eds.), *Not so Much a Pot, More a Way of Life*. Oxford: Oxbow Books, pp. 77-84.
- Allison, P. M., 1999. *The Archaeology of Household Activities*. London: Routledge.
- Allison, P. M., 2001. Using the Material and Written Sources: Turn of the Millennium Approaches to Roman Domestic Space. In *American Journal of Archaeology*, vol. 105, no. 2. pp. 181-208.
- Allison, P. M., 2004. *Pompeian Households: An Analysis of the Material Culture*. Monograph 42. The Costen Institute of Archaeology. Los Angeles: University of California.
- Allison, P. M., 2006a. *The Insula of the Menander in Pompeii, III: The Finds: A Contextual Study*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Allison, P. M., 2006b. Mapping for Gender. Interpreting Artefact Distribution Inside 1st and 2nd Century A.D. Forts in Roman Germany. In *Archaeological Dialogues*, vol. 13, issue 1, pp. 1-20.
- Allison, P. M., 2007. Engendering Roman Domestic Space. In *British School at Athens Studies*, vol. 15, *Building Communities: House, Settlement and Society in the Aegean and Beyond*, pp. 343-350.
- Allison, P. M., 2011. Soldiers' Families in the Early Roman Empire. In *A Companion to Families in the Greek and Roman Worlds*. London: Blackwell Publishing, pp. 161-182.
- Allison, P. M., 2013. *People and Spaces in Roman Military Bases*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Allison, P. M., 2015. Characterizing Roman Artifacts to Investigate Gendered Practices in Contexts Without Sexed Bodies. In *American Journal of Archaeology*, vol. 119, no. 1, pp. 103-123.
- Allison, P. M., Fairburn, A. S., Ellis, S. J. R. and Blackall C. W., 2004. Extracting Social Relevance of Artefact Distribution within Roman Military Forts. In *Internet Archaeology*, vol. 17 no.4. URL: <http://intarch.ac.uk/journal/issue17/index.html>.
Last accessed 26 January 2019.
- Arsenault, D., 1991. The Representation of Women in Moche Iconography. In D. Walde & N. Willows (eds.), *The Archaeology of Gender*. Calgary: Archaeology Association University of Calgary, pp. 313-326.
- Baatz, D., 1973. *Kastell Hesselbach und andere Forschungen am Odenwaldlimes*. Römisch-Germanisch Commission. Limesforschungen Band 12. Berlin: Gebr. Mann.
- Bartman, E., 1999. *Portraits of Livia: Imaging the Imperial Woman in Augustan Rome*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bartsch, S., 2006. *The Mirror of the Self: Sexuality, Self-Knowledge, and the Gaze in the Early Roman Empire*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Beaumont, P., 2008. Water Supply at Housesteads Roman Fort, Hadrian's Wall: The Case for Rainfall Harvesting. In *Britannia*, vol. 39. pp. 59-84.
- Becker, T., 2006. Women in Roman Forts – Lack of Knowledge or a Social Claim? In P. M. Allison (ed.), *Archaeological Dialogues*, vol. 13, issue 1, pp. 36-38.
- Bennett, J., 2003. *Trajan: Optimus Princeps*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Bennett, J., 2006. The Origins and Early History of the Pontic-Cappadocian Frontier. In *Anatolian Studies*, vol. 56, pp. 77-93.
- Bidwell, P. T., 1985. *The Roman Fort of Vindolanda at Chesterholm, Northumberland*. London: Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England.
- Bidwell, P. T., 1991. Later Roman Barracks in Britain. In V. A. Maxfield and M. J. Dobson (eds.), *Roman Frontier Studies 1989: Proceedings of the XVth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies*. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, pp. 9-15.

- Bidwell, P. T., 1997. *Roman Forts in Britain*. London: Batsford.
- Bidwell, P. and Hodgson, N., 2009. *The Roman Army in Northern England*. Newcastle Upon Tyne: Arbeia Society.
- Bidwell, P. and Speak, S., 1994. *Excavations at South Shields Roman Fort: Volume 1*. Newcastle Upon Tyne: Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle Upon Tyne with Tyne and Wear Museums.
- Biggins, J. A. and Taylor, D. J. A., 1999. A survey of the Roman Fort and Settlement at Birdoswald, Cumbria. In *Britannia*, vol. 30, pp. 91-110.
- Biggins, J. A. and Taylor, D. J. A., 2004a. Geophysical Survey of the Vicus at Birdoswald Roman Fort, Cumbria. In *Britannia*, vol. 35, pp. 159-178.
- Biggins, J. A. and Taylor, D. J. A., 2004b. Geophysical survey at Housesteads Roman Fort, April 2003. *Archaeologia Aeliana* 5th series, 33. Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle Upon Tyne, pp. 52-60.
- Birley, A., 2001. *Vindolanda's Military Bath Houses: Report on the pre-Hadrianic Military Bath House Found in 2000, with Analysis of the Early Third Century Bath House Excavated in 1970/71, and Possible Sites of Other Bath Houses*. Carlisle: Roman Army Museum Publications.
- Birley, A., 2002. *Garrison Life at Vindolanda: A Band of Brothers*. Stroud: Tempus Publishing.
- Birley, A., 2003. *Vindolanda Research Report 2003, The Excavations of 2001-2002, Vol 1*. Hexham: Vindolanda Trust.
- Birley, A., 2013. *The Vindolanda Granary Excavations*. Roman Army Museum Publications.
- Birley, A. R., 1980. *The People of Roman Britain*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Birley, A. R., 2000. Hadrian to the Antonines. In A. K. Bowman, P. Garnsey, and D. Rathbone (eds.), *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. 11: *The High Empire, AD 70-192*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 132-194.
- Birley, A. R., 2010. *The Nature and Significance of Extramural Settlement at Vindolanda and Other Selected Sites on the Northern Frontier of Roman Britain*. PhD Thesis, University of Leicester.

- Birley, A. and Birley, A., 2010. A Dolichenum at Vindolanda. In *Archaeologia Aeliana*, vol. 39, series 5, pp. 25-51.
- Birley, A. R., Birley, A. and Stempel, P. B., 2013. A Dedication by the “Cohors I Tungrorum” at Vindolanda to a Hitherto Unknown Goddess. In *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, vol. 186. Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH, pp. 287-300.
- Birley, A. and Blake, J., 2007. *Vindolanda Research Report: The Excavations of 2005-2006*. Hexham: The Vindolanda Trust.
- Birley, E., 1931. An Introduction to the Excavation of Chesterholm- Vindolanda. In *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 4th series, vol. 8, pp. 182-212.
- Birley, E., 1932. Excavations at Chesterholm-Vindolanda, 1931. In *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 4th series, vol. 9, pp. 216-221.
- Birley, E., 1934. A New Inscription from Chesterholm. In *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 4th series, vol. 11, pp. 127-137.
- Birley, E., 1937. Fifth Report on Excavations at Housesteads. In *Archaeologia Aeliana*, vol. 14, series 4, pp. 172-84.
- Birley, E., 1988. Pannonians in Roman Britain. In *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, Bd. 73. Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH, pp. 151-155.
- Birley, E. and Charlton, J., 1934. Third Report on Excavations at Housesteads. Newcastle Upon Tyne: Northumberland Press Limited, pp. 185-205.
- Birley, E., Charlton, J. and Hedley, P., 1933. Excavations at Housesteads in 1932. In *Archaeologia Aeliana*, vol. 10, series 4, pp. 82-96.
- Birley, E. and Keeney, G. S., 1935. Fourth Report on Excavations at Housesteads. In *Archaeologia Aeliana*, vol. 7, series 4, pp. 204-59.
- Birley, E., Richmond, I. A. and Stanfield, J. A., 1936. Excavations at Chesterholm-Vindolanda: Third Report. In *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 4th series, vol. 13, pp. 218-257.
- Birley, R., 1970. Excavations at Chesterholm-Vindolanda 1967-69. In J. Philipson (ed.), *Archaeologia Aeliana*, vol. XLVIII, 4TH series, pp. 97-155.
- Birley, R., 1973. Vindolanda-Chesterholm 1969-72. In *Archaeologia Aeliana*, series 5, vol 1, pp. 111-122.

- Birley, R., 1977. *Vindolanda: A Roman Frontier Post on Hadrian's Wall*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Birley, R., 2009. *Vindolanda: A Roman Frontier Fort on Hadrian's Wall*. Stroud: Amberley Press.
- Birley, R., 2012. *Vindolanda: A Roman Frontier Fort on Hadrian's Wall*. Stroud: Amberley Publishing Limited.
- Birley, R. E., 1961. Housesteads Civil Settlement, 1960. In *Archaeologia Aeliana*, vol. 39, series 4, pp. 301-320.
- Birley, R. E., 1962a. Housesteads Vicus, 1961. In *Archaeologia Aeliana*, vol. 40, series 4, pp. 117-135.
- Birley, R. E., 1962b. Some Excavations at Chesterholm-Vindolanda. In J. Philipson (ed.), *Archaeologia Aeliana*, vol. XL, 4th series, pp. 97-103.
- Birley, R. E., 1994. *The Early Wooden Forts. Vindolanda Research Reports, New Series*, vol. I. Hexham: Vindolanda Trust.
- Birley, R. & Birley, A., 1994. Four New Writing-Tablets from Vindolanda. In *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, vol. 100. Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH, pp. 431-446.
- Birley, R., Birley, A. and Blake, J., 1999. *The 1998 Excavations at Vindolanda: The Praetorium Site Interim Report*. Carlisle: Roman Army Museum Publications.
- Birley, R., Blake, J. and Birley, A., 2002. *The 1997 Excavations at Vindolanda Praetorium Site – Interim Report*. Carlisle: Roman Army Museum Publications.
- Bishop M. C. and Dore, J., 1989. *Corbridge: Excavations of the Roman Fort and Town, 1947-80*. London: English Heritage.
- Black, E. W., 1994. Villa-Owners: Romano-British Gentlemen and Officers. In *Britannia*, vol. 25, pp. 99-110.
- Blake, J., 2001. *Vindolanda Excavations 2000: The Southern Defences of Stone Fort Two, with the Circular Huts and Other Features*. Carlisle: Roman Army Museum Publications.
- Blake, J., 2014. *Vindolanda Research. The Excavations of 2007-2012 in the Vicus or Extramural Settlement ('Area B')*. Carlisle: Roman Army Museum Publications.

- Boatwright, M. T., 2000. *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Böhme, A., 1970. Englische Fibeln der Kastelle Saalburg und Zugmantel. In *Saalburg Jahrbuch*, vol. 27, pp. 5-20.
- Bosanquet, R. C., 1898. The Society's visit to Excavations at Housesteads. In *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle Upon Tyne*, vol. 2, series 8. pp, 213-16.
- Bosanquet, R. C., 1904. Excavations on the Line of the Roman Wall in Northumberland. The Roman Camp at Housesteads. In *Archaeologia Aeliana*, vol. 2, series 19, pp. 185-96.
- Boutwood, Y., 1996. Roman Fort and 'Vicus'. Newton Kyme. North Yorkshire. In *Britannia*, vol. 27. pp. 340-344.
- Bowman A. K., 1983. *The Roman Writing Tablets from Vindolanda*. London: British Museum Publications Ltd.
- Bowman, A. K., 1994. *Life and Letters on the Roman Frontier: Vindolanda and its People*. London: British Museum Press.
- Bowman, A. K., 1998. *Life and Letters in the Roman Frontier: Vindolanda and its People*. London: Psychology Press.
- Bowman, A. K. & Thomas, J. D., 1994. *The Vindolanda Writing Tablets 1994. Tabulae Vindolandenses II*. London: British Museum.
- Bowman, A. K. & Thomas, J. D., 1996. New Writing-Tablets from Vindolanda. In *Britannia*, vol. 27, pp. 299-328.
- Bowman, A. K., Thomas, J. D. & Tomlin, R. S. O., 2010. The Vindolanda Writing-Tablets (Tabulae Vindolandenses IV, Part I). In *Britannia*, vol. 41, pp. 187-224.
- Breeze, D. J., 2002. *Roman Forts in Britain*. Risborough: Shire Archaeology.
- Breeze, D. J., 2006. *The Antonine Wall*. Edinburgh: John Donald.
- Breeze, D. J., 2012. Antonine Wall. In *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History*. London: John Wiley & Sons.
- Breeze, D. J., 2013. *Roman Frontiers in Britain*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Breeze, D. J. & Dobson, B., 2000. *Hadrian's Wall*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

- Brown, D. and Henig, M., 1977. Figured Amber in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. In J. Munby and M. Henig (eds.), *Roman Life and Art in Britain*, BAR British Series 41. BAR publishing, pp. 21-34.
- Bruce, J. C., 1875. *Lapidarium Septentrionale: Or, A Description of the Monuments of Roman Rule in the North of England*. B. Quaritch.
- Bunson, M., 2014. *Encyclopedia of the Roman Empire*. New York: Infobase Publishing.
- Calvi, M. C., 2005. *Aquileia: le amber romane*. Udine: Associazione Nazionale per Aquileia.
- Carroll, M., 2006. *Spirits of the Dead: Roman Funerary Commemoration in Western Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Carroll, M., 2012. The Insignia of Women: Dress, Gender and Identity on the Roman Funerary Monument of Regina from Arbeia. In *Archaeological Journal*, 169, pp. 281-311.
- Cartwright, M., 2013. Slavery in the Roman World. URL: <https://www.ancient.eu/article/629/slavery-in-the-roman-world/>. Last accessed 1st March 2018.
- Casella, E. C., 2006. Safe Genders? In *Archaeological Dialogues*, vol. 13, issue, 1, pp 25-27.
- Casey, P. J., 1994. *Carausius and Allectus: The British Usurpers*. London: B. T. Batsford Ltd.
- Charlesworth, D., 1975. The Commandant's House, Housesteads. In *Archaeologia Aeliana*, vol 3, series 5, pp. 17-42.
- Charlesworth, D., 1976. The Hospital, Housesteads. In *Archaeologia Aeliana*, vol. 4, series 5, pp. 17-30.
- Clarke, S., 2000. The West Annexe at Newstead (Trimontium), Roxburghshire. In *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. 130. Edinburgh: National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, pp. 457-467.
- Cleary, A. S. E., 1990. *The Ending of Roman Britain*. London: Rowman & Littlefield.

- Coleman, K., 2001. Review: Roman Baths and Bathing. Reviewed work: Bathing in Public in the Roman World by G. G. Fagan; Versus Balnearum. Die Anticke Dichtung über Bäder und Baden im Römischen Reich by S. Busch. Classics Ireland, vol. 8. Classical Association of Ireland, pp. 121-131.
- Collingwood, R. G., 1926. Roman Inscriptions and Sculptures Belonging to the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle Upon Tyne. In *Archaeologia Aeliana*, vol. 2, series 4, pp. 52-124.
- Collingwood, R. G. and Taylor, M. V., 1931. Roman Britain in 1930. In *The Journal of Roman Studies*, vol. 21, issue 2, pp. 215-250.
- Collins, R., 2009. Hadrian's Wall and the Collapse of Roman Frontiers. In N. Hanel (ed.), *Limes XX, XXth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies*, vol. 13. CSIC Press, pp. 181-97.
- Collins, R., 2012. Hadrian's Wall and the End of Empire: The Roman Frontier in the 4th and 5th Centuries. London: Routledge.
- Collins, R., 2018. England 3. Hadrian's Wall. In *Britannia*, vol. 49. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 342-347.
- Conkey, M. W. and Gero, J. M., 1997. Programme to Practice: Gender and Feminism in Archaeology. In *Annual Review of Anthropology*, vol. 26, pp. 411-437.
- Cool, H. E. M., 2002. An Overview of the Small Finds from Catterick. In P. R. Wilson (ed.), *Cataractonium: Roman Catterick and its Hinterland. Excavations and Research, 1958-1997*, pt. 2. In *Council for British Archaeology Research Report 129*. London: Council for British Archaeology, pp. 24-43.
- Cool, H. E. M., 2004. The Roman Cemetery at Brougham: Excavations 1966-67. In *Britannia Monograph*, series 21. London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies.
- Cork, C. R., Wild, J. P., Cooke, W. D. and Fang-Lu, L., 1995. Analysis and Evaluation of a Group of Early Roman Textiles from Vindolanda, Northumberland. In *Journal of Archaeological Science*, vol. 24, pp. 19-32.

- Cowey, J., 2016a. Epigraphic Text Database: Detailed View. In Epigraphic Database Heidelberg. URL: <https://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD070879>. Last Accessed 4th November 2018.
- Cowey, J., 2016b. Epigraphic Text Database: Detailed View. In Epigraphic Database Heidelberg. URL: <https://edh-www.adw.uniheidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD070880> . Last Accessed 4th November 2018.
- Cowey, J., 2016c. Epigraphic Text Database: Detailed View. In Epigraphic Database Heidelberg. URL: <https://edh-www.adw.uniheidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD070881> . Last Accessed 4th November 2018.
- Cowey, J., 2017a. Epigraphic Text Database: Detailed View. In Epigraphic Database Heidelberg. URL: <http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD070793>. Last Accessed 6th September 2018.
- Cowey, J., 2017b. Epigraphic Text Database: Detailed View. In Epigraphic Database Heidelberg. URL: <http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD070792>. Last Accessed 6th September 2018.
- Cowey, J., 2017c. Epigraphic Text Database: Detailed View. In Epigraphic Database Heidelberg. URL: <https://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD070877&lang=en>. Last Accessed 6th September 2018.
- Crow, J. G., 1988. An Excavation of the North Curtain Wall at Housesteads, 1984. In *Archaeologia Aeliana*, vol. 16, series 5, pp. 61-124.
- Crow, J., 1995. *Book of Housesteads*. London: B. T. Batsford.
- Crow, J., 2003. Chapter Eight. The Northern Frontier of Britain from Trajan to Antoninus Pius: Roman Builders and Native Britons. In *A Companion to Roman Britain*. DOI: 10.1111/b.9780631218234.2003.00012.x.
- Crow, J., 2004. *Housesteads: A Fort and Garrison on Hadrian's Wall*. Stroud: Tempus Publishing Ltd.

- Curteis, M. E., 1988. The Coinage of Housesteads: A Numismatic Study of the Economy and Chronology of a Fort on Hadrian's Wall. Unpublished PhD thesis. Durham University.
- Dando-Collins, S., 2012. *Legions of Rome: The Definitive History of Every Roman Legion*. London: Hachette UK.
- Daniels, C. M., 1980. Excavations at Wallsend and the fourth-century barracks on Hadrian's Wall. In W. S. Hanson & L. J. Keppie (eds.), *Roman Frontier Studies*, 1979. Oxford: BAR Int. Ser. 71, pp. 173-93.
- Dark, K., 2001. Proto-industrialization and the Economy of the Roman Empire. In M. Polfer (ed.) *L'Artisanat Romain: evolutions, continuités et ruptures*. *Illustrumenlum monograph 20*, Montagnac, pp. 19-29.
- Derks, A. M. J. and Vos, W. K., 2010. Wooden Combs from the Roman Fort at Vechten: the Bodily Appearance of Soldiers. In *Journal of Archaeology in the Low Countries*, vol. 2., issue 2, pp. 53-77.
- Díaz-Andreu, M., 2005. Gender Identity. In M. Díaz-Andreu, S. Lucy, S. Babic and D. Edwards (eds.), *The Archaeology of Identity. Approaches to Gender, Age, Status, Ethnicity and Religion*. London: Routledge, pp. 13-42.
- Dictionary (n.d.). Tontine: Dictionary. URL: <https://www.dictionary.com/browse/tontine>. Last accessed 18th January 2019.
- Dixon K. R. and Southern, P., 1992. *The Roman Cavalry*. London: Routledge.
- Dixon, K. R. and Southern, P., 1997. *The Roman Cavalry*. London: Routledge.
- Dixon, S., 2001. *Reading Roman Women: Sources, Genres and Real Life*. London: Duckworth.
- Donahue, C., 1941. The Valkyries and the Irish War-Goddesses. In *PMLA*, vol. 56, no. 1. Modern Language Association, pp. 1-12.
- Dore, J. N. and Gillam, J. P., 1979. *The Roman Fort at South Shields: Excavations 1875-1975*. Monograph Series no. 1. Newcastle Upon Tyne: Society of Antiquaries.
- Drăganescu, C., 2013. Pastoralism and the Romanian History. Sheep Breeds- People, Languages, Genes in Northern Carpathians and Pannonia Basin. In

Science Papers, Series D. Animal Science, vol. 56. University of Agronomic Sciences and Veterinary Medicine of Bucharest, pp. 16-24.

- van Driel-Murray, C., 1985. Gender in Question. In P. Rush (ed.), *Theoretical Roman Archaeology: Second Conference Proceedings*. Worldwide Archaeology Series, vol. 14. Aldershot: Avebury/Ashgate, pp. 3-21.
- van Driel-Murray, C., 1985. The Production and Supply of Military Leather Work in the First and Second Centuries A.D.: A Review of the Archaeological Evidence. In M. C. Bishop (ed.), *The Production and Distribution of Roman Military Equipment*. British Archaeological Reports, series 275, pp. 43-81.
- van Driel-Murray, C., 1995. Gender in Question. In P. Rush (ed.), *Theoretical Roman Archaeology: Second Conference Proceedings*. Worldwide Archaeology series, vol. 14. Aldershot: Avebury/Ashgate, pp. 3-21.
- van Driel-Murray, C., 2001. Vindolanda and the Dating of Roman Footwear. In *Britannia*, vol. 32, pp. 185-197.
- van Driel-Murray, C. and Gechter, M., 1983. Funde aus der fabrica der legio I Minervia im Bonner Berg. In *Rheinische Ausgrabungen*, vol. 23, Beiträge zur Archäologie des römische Rheinlands, 4. Cologne, Rheinland Verlag 1984, pp. 1-84.
- Dumayne, L., 1994. The Effect of the Roman Occupation on the Environment of Hadrian's Wall: A Pollen Diagram from Fozy Moss, Northumbria. In *Britannia*, vol. 25, pp. 217-224.
- Dumayne-Peaty, L., 1998. Human Impact on the Environment during the Iron Age and Romano-British Times: Palynological Evidence from Three Sites near the Antonine Wall, Great Britain. In *Journal of Archaeological Science*, vol. 25, pp. 203-214.
- Dungworth, D. B., 1995. Iron Age and Roman Copper Alloys from Northern Britain. Unpublished PhD thesis, Durham University. URL: <http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/1024/>.
- Dungworth, D., 2001. Metal Working Evidence from Housesteads Roman Fort, Northumberland. In *Centre for Archaeology Report 109/2001*. London: English Heritage.

- Dunlap, J. E., 1931. Tribal Boundaries in Belgic Gaul. In *Classical Philology*, vol. 26, no. 3. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 318-321.
- Eckardt, H., Müldner, G. and Lewis, M., 2014. People on the Move in Roman Britain. In *World Archaeology*, vol. 46, issue 4, pp. 534-550. DOI: [10.1080/00438243.2014.931821](https://doi.org/10.1080/00438243.2014.931821).
- English Heritage (n.d.). Domestic Violence on Hadrian's Wall. URL: <https://www.english-heritage.org.uk/visit/places/housesteads-roman-fort-hadrians-wall/history/domestic-violence/>. Last accessed 18th January 2019.
- Erdkamp, P., 2011. *A Companion to the Roman Army*. London: John Wiley and Sons.
- Evers, K. G., 2011. The Vindolanda Tablets and the Ancient Economy. In *British Archaeological Reports*, BAR 544. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Facsády, A. R. and Verebes, A., 2009. Analysis of Roman Bronze Finger Rings from Aquincum. In *Materials and Manufacturing Processes*, vol. 24, issue 9, pp. 993-998. DOI: [10.1080/10426910902979942](https://doi.org/10.1080/10426910902979942). Last Accessed 13th August 2018.
- Fagan, G. G., 2002. *Bathing in Public in the Roman World*. Michigan: University of Michigan Press.
- Faulkner, N., 2000. *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. Stroud: Tempus Publishing.
- Flory, S., 1978. Medea's Right Hand: Promises and Revenge. In *Transactions of the American Philological Association*. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, pp. 69-74.
- Fowler, M. J. F., 2004. Cover: Declassified CORONA KH-4B satellite photography of Remains from Rome's Desert Frontier. In *International Journal of Remote Sensing*, vol. 25, issue 18, pp. 3549-3554. DOI: [10.1080/0143116031000098887](https://doi.org/10.1080/0143116031000098887).
- Franke, R., 2003. *Arae Flaviae V: Die Kastell I und II von Arae Flaviae/Rottweil und die römische Okkupation des oberen Neckargebietes. Forschungen und Berichte zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte in Baden- Württemberg, Landesdenkmalamt Baden-Württemberg, Band 93*. Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss.
- Fraser, J. E., 2008. *The Roman Conquest of Scotland: The Battle of Mons Graupius, AD 84*. Stroud: The History Press.

- Freisenbruch, A., 2010. *The First Ladies of Rome: The Women Behind the Caesars*. London: Jonathan Cape.
- Frere, S. S., Joseph, J. K. St., Charlesworth, D., Goodburn, R., Hartley, B. R., Marples, B. J., Myres, J. N. L., Reece, R. and Wilson, M., 1974. *The Roman Fortress at Longthorpe*. In *Britannia*, vol. 5, pp. 1-129.
- Galestin, M. C., 2007/8. *Frisii and Frisiavones*. In *Palaeohistoria*, vol. 49/50. Groningen: University of Groningen, pp. 687-708.
- Gardner, A., 2007. *An Archaeology of Identity: Soldiers and Society in Late Roman Britain*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.
- Goodman, M., 2012. *The Roman World: 44BC – AD 180*. London: Routledge.
- Goodrum, M., 2013. *The Study of Prehistoric Artefacts in National Context: Belgian Archaeologists and the Problem of Ancient Stone Implements*. In *Bulletin of the History of Archaeology* vol. 23, no. 2, pp. 1-11.
- Goody, E., 1998. *From Craft to Industry*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Gowland, W., 1920. VI – Silver in Roman and Earlier Times: I. Pre-historic and Proto-historic Times. In *The Antiquaries Journal*, vol. 69, pp. 121-160.
- Greene, E. M., 2013. *Before Hadrian's Wall: Early Communities at Vindolanda and on the Northern Frontier*. In R. Collins & M. Symonds (eds.), *Breaking Down Boundaries Hadrian's Wall in the 21st Century*. In *Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series Number Ninety-Three*, pp. 17-32.
- Hanel, N., 1995. *Vetera I: Die Funde aus den Römischen Lagern auf dem Fürstenberg bei Xanten*. In *Rheinische Ausgrabungen*, vol. 35. Cologne and Bonn: Rudolf Habelt and Rheinlang-Verlag..
- Hanson, W. S., 1978. *The Organisation of Roman Military Timber-Supply*. In *Britannia*, vol. 9, pp. 293-305.
- Harlow, M., 2004. *Clothes Maketh the Man: Power Dressing and Elite Masculinity in the Later Roman World*. In L. Brubaker and J. M. H. Smith (eds.), *Gender in the Early Medieval World: East and West, 300-900*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 44-69.
- Hassall, M., 1999. *Homes for Heroes: Married Quarters for Soldiers and Veterans*. In A. Goldsworthy and I. Haynes (eds.), *The Roman Army as a Community*.

Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series, vol. 34, pp. 35-40.

- Haverfield, F. S. A., 1915. Newly Discovered Roman Altars. In *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 3rd series, vol. 12, pp. 201-205.
- Haynes, I., 1999. Introduction: The Roman Army as a Community. In A. Goldsworthy and I. Haynes (eds.), *The Roman Army as a Community*. In *Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series* no. 34, pp. 7-14.
- Heath, C., 2017. Tyr: One Hand or Tiw? <https://greatvalleykindred.com/tyr-one-hand-or-tiw/>. Last accessed 20th March 2018.
- Henig, M., 1996. Review: Housesteads. Reviewed work: English Heritage Book of Housesteads by J. Crow. In *The Classical Review, New Series*, vol. 46. No. 2, pp. 349-351.
- Higgins, R. and Higgins, R. A., 1980. *Greek and Roman Jewellery*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Hill, J. D., 1995. The Pre-Roman Iron Age in Britain and Ireland (ca. 800 B.C. to A.D. 100): An Overview. In *Journal of World Prehistory*, vol. 9, no. 1, pp. 47-98.
- Hingley, R. C., 2010. Hadrian's Wall: Past, Present and Future. In *Antiquity*, vol. 84, issue 326, pp. 1192-1194.
- Hingley, R., 2012. *Hadrian's Wall: A Life*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hodgson, N., 2000. The Stanegate: A Frontier Rehabilitated. In *Britannia*, vol. 31, pp. 11-22.
- Hodgson, J., 1822. Observations on the Roman Station of Housesteads, and on some Mithraic Antiquities Discovered there. In *Archaeologia Aeliana*, vol. 1, series 1, pp. 263-320.
- Hodgson, N., 2001. The Origins and Development of the Roman Military Supply-Base at South Shields: An Interim Report on the Results of Excavations in the Eastern Quadrant and Central Area, 1990-2000. In *The Arbeia Journal*, vol. 6-7, 1997-98, pp. 25-36.
- Hodgson, N., 2014. The Accommodation of Soldiers' Wives in Roman Fort Barracks – On Hadrian's Wall and Beyond. In R. Collins and F. McIntosh (eds.), *Life on the Limes*. Oxford and Philadelphia: Oxbow Books, pp. 18-28.

- Hodgson, N. & Bidwell, P. T., 2004. Auxiliary Barracks in a New Light: Recent Discoveries on Hadrian's Wall. In *Britannia*, vol. 35, pp. 121-157.
- Hoffmann, B., 1995. The Quarters of Legionary Centurions of the Principate. In *Britannia*, vol. 26, pp. 107-151.
- Hoffman, B., 2002. Römisches Glas im Baden-Württemberg. *Archäologie und Geschichte. Freiburger Forschungen zum ersten Jahrtausend in Südwestdeutschland* 11, Stuttgart.
- Hoffman, B., 2006. Melonperlen und das Militär in Grossbritannien, am Rhein und an der oberen Donau. In G. Seitz (ed.), *Dienste Roms. Festschrift für Hans Ulrich Nuber*. Remshalden: Bernard Albert Greiner, pp. 227-9.
- Hunter, F., 2016. Beyond Hadrian's Wall. In M. Millet, L. Revell, and A. Moore (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 179-203.
- Huskinson, J., 2013. *Experiencing Rome: Culture, Identity and Power in the Roman Empire*. London: Routledge.
- Jackson, R., 1985. Cosmetics Sets from Late Iron Age and Roman Britain. In *Britannia*, vol. 16, pp. 165-192.
- Jackson, R., 2010. *Cosmetic Sets of Late Iron Age and Roman Britain*. London: The British Museum Press.
- Jain, N. & Sternberg, L. B., 2005. Symphyseal Separation. In *Obstetrics and Gynecology*, vol. 105, no. 5, part 2, pp. 1229-1232.
- James, S., 1999. The Community of the Soldiers: a Major Identity and Centre of Power in the Roman Empire. In P. Baker, C. Forcey, S. Jundi and R. Witcher (eds.), *TRAC 98: Proceedings of the Eighth Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference, Leicester 1998*. Oxford: Oxbow Books, pp. 14-25.
- James, S., 2001. Soldiers and Civilians: Identity and Interaction in Roman Britain. In S. James and M. Millet (eds.), *Britons and Romans: Advancing on Archaeological Agenda*. CBA Research Report no. 125. London: Council for British Archaeology, pp. 77-89.

- James, S., 2006. Engendering Change in our Understanding of the Structure of Roman Military Communities. In *Archaeological Dialogues*, vol. 13 no. 1, pp. 31-36.
- Johns, C., 1996. *The Jewellery of Roman Britain: Celtic and Classical Traditions*. London: Psychology Press.
- Johnson, M., 2010. *Archaeological Theory: An Introduction*, 2nd Edition. London: Wiley and Sons.
- Johnson, S., 1989. *Book of Hadrian's Wall*. London: English Heritage.
- Jones, G. D. B. & Mattingly, D., 1990. *Atlas of Roman Britain*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Jones, R. H., 2012. *Roman Camps in Britain*. Stroud: Amberley Publishing Limited.
- Kampen, N., 1981. *Image and Status: Roman Working Women in Ostia*. Berlin: Mann.
- Kampen, N., 1996. Gender Theory in Roman Art. In D. E. E. Kleiner and S. B. Matheson (eds.), *I Claudia: Women in Ancient Rome*. Austin: University of Texas Press, pp. 14-25.
- Kelly, O., 2008. *Dress and the Roman Woman: Self-Presentation and Society*. London: Routledge.
- Kleiner, F. S., 1988. The Arch in Honor of C. Octavius and the Fathers of Augustus. In *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte*, vol. 37, no. 3, pp. 347-357.
- Külcher, S. and Miller, D. (eds.), 2005. *Clothing as Material Culture*. Oxford: Berg.
- Kulikowski, M., 2000. The "Notitia Dignitatum" as a Historical Source. In *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte*, vol. 49, no. 3, pp. 358-377.
- Kunst, C., 2005. Ornamenta Uxoria: Badges of Rank or Jewellery or Roman Wives? In *The Medieval History Journal*, vol. 8, pp. 127-142. DOI: [10.1177%2F097194580400800107](https://doi.org/10.1177%2F097194580400800107).
- Kunz, G. F., 2012. *Rings for the Finger*. New York: Dover Publications.
- La Baume, P., 1968. Römische Bernsteinarbeiten in Köln. In M. Claus, W. Haarnagel and K. Raddatz (eds.), *Studien zur Europäischen Vor-und Frühgeschichte, gewidmet Herbert Jankuhn*. Neumünster, pp. 108-114.
- Lancaster, J., 2016. *Hadrian's Wall: The Real Route. Part 2: Components of the Frontier*. URL:

http://www.castlesfortsbattles.co.uk/hadrians_wall_components_frontier.html.

Last accessed 5th January 2019.

- Leach, J. and Wilkes, J., 1962. Excavations in the Roman Fort at Housesteads, 1961. In *Archaeologia Aeliana*, vol. 40, series 4, pp. 83-96.
- Lendering, J., 2011. The Batavian Revolt. *Ancient History Encyclopedia*. URL: <https://www.ancient.eu/article/286/the-batavian-revolt/>. Last accessed 14th December 2018.
- Lendering, J., 2015. Legio VI Victrix. *Livius*. URL: <http://www.livius.org/articles/legion/legio-vi-victrix/> Last accessed 8th October 2018.
- Lorber, J., 1994. *Paradoxes of Gender*. New Haven, CT.: Yale University Press.
- Luttwak, E., 2016. *The Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire: From the First Century CE to the Third*. Baltimore: JHU Press.
- MacGregor, A., 1976. *Finds from a Roman Sewer System and an Adjacent Building in Church Street, York*. York: York Archaeological Trust.
- MacGregor, A., 1984. *Bone, Antler, Ivory and Horn: The Technology of Skeletal Materials Since the Roman Period*. London: Routledge.
- Maclean, M., 2015. *Hedges and Hedgelaying: A Guide to Planting, Management and Conservation*. Marlborough: Crowood.
- Marcu, F., 2007. Places of Worship in Forts. In *Acta Musei Napocensis*, vol. 41 (42), pp. 75-105.
- Mattern, S. P., 1999. *Rome and the Enemy: Imperial Strategy in the Principate*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Mattingly, D., 2007. *An Imperial Possession: Britain in the Roman Empire, 54 BC – AD 409*. London: Penguin.
- Maxfield, V. A., 1995. *Soldier and Civilian: Life Beyond the Ramparts: The Eighth Annual Caerleon Lecture, In honorem aquilae Legionis II Augustae*. Caerleon: Roman Legionary Museum.
- Miller, M., 1975. Stilicho's Pictish War. In *Britannia*, vol.6, pp. 141-145.

- Milnor, K., 2005. *Gender, Domesticity and the Age of Augustus: Inventing Private Life*. In *Oxford Studies in Classical Literature and Gender Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Mitchell, S. and Nuffelen, P. V., 2010. *One God: Pagan Monotheism in the Roman Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Museum, J. P. G. and Spier, J., 1992. *Ancient Gems and Fingers Rings: Catalogue of the Collection*. Los Angeles: Getty Publications.
- Nash-Williams, V. E., 2016. *The Roman Legionary Fortress at Caerleon, Monmouthshire*. Read Books Ltd.
- Nelson, S. M., 1997. *Gender in Archaeology: Analyzing Power and Prestige*. Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press.
- Olsen, K., 2009. *Cosmetics in Roman Antiquity: Substance, Remedy, Poison*. In *The Classical World*, vol. 102, no. 3, pp. 291-310.
- Osborn, G., 2006. *Hadrian's Wall and its People*. Bristol: Bristol Phoenix Press.
- Parker, H., 1997. *The Teratogenic Grid*. In J. P. Hallet and M. B. Skinner (eds.), *Roman Sexualities*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, pp. 47-65.
- Peadon, K., 2006. *Domi Trans Mare Vindolandae: At Home Across the Sea at Vindolanda*. In *Ancient History*, vol. 36, issue 1, pp. 37-75.
- Petrikovits, H. V., 1971. *Fortifications in the North-Western Roman Empire from the Third to the Fifth Centuries A.D.* In *The Journal of Roman Studies*, vol. 61, pp. 178-218.
- Petrikovits, H. V., 1975. *The Interior of Roman Legion Camps During the Principate Period*. In *Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademi der Wissenschaften*, vol. 56.
- Phang, S. E., 2001. *The Marriage of Roman Soldiers (13 BC – AD 235). Law and Family in the Imperial Army*. Leiden: Brill.
- Pickett, E., Young, B., Lawrence, D., Clarke, S., Everest, J., Thompson, G. & Young, R., 2006. *Ancient Frontiers – Exploring the Geology and Landscape of the Hadrian's Wall Area*. British Geological Survey: Natural Environment Research Council.

- Pomeroy, S. B., 1995. *Goddesses, Whores, Wives, and Slaves: Women in Classical Antiquity*. New York: Schocken Books.
- Potter, D. S., 2014. *The Roman Empire At Bay: AD 180-395*, second edition. London: Routledge
- Potter, T. W. and Johns, C., 1992. *Roman Britain*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Rawson, B., 1974. Roman Concubinage and Other De Facto Marriages. In *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, vol. 104. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, pp. 279-305.
- Raybould, M. E., 1999. A Study of Inscribed Material from Roman Britain: An Inquiry into some Aspects of literacy in the Romano-British Society. In *BAR British Series 281*. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Richmond, I. A., 1968. *Hod Hill II: Excavations Carried out Between 1952 and 1958*. London: British Museum Press.
- Rickman, G., 1971. *Roman Granaries and Store Buildings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press Archive.
- Roger, R., 2004. *Diocletian and the Tetrarchy*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Roth, J., 1994. The Size and Organization of the Roman Imperial Legion. In *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte*, vol. 43, issue 3, pp. 346-362.
- Roth, U., 2007. Thinking Tools: Agricultural Slavery Between Evidence and Models. In *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*, Supplement no. 92. URL: www.jstor.org/stable/43768128. Last Accessed 9th August 2018.
- Rushworth, A., 2009a. *Housesteads Roman Fort – The Grandest Station: Excavation and Survey at Housesteads, 1954-95*, vol. 1. London: English Heritage.
- Rushworth, A., 2009b. *Housesteads Roman Fort – The Grandest Station: Excavation and Survey at Housesteads, 1954-95*, vol. 2. London: English Heritage.
- Rushworth, A., 2016. *Segedunum. Excavations by Charles Daniels in the Roman Fort at Wallsend (1975-1984). Volume 1: The Structural Remains*. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- Salway, P., 2001. *A History of Roman Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Schönberger, H., 1975. Kastell Kunzing – Quintana: Die Grabungen von 1958 bis 1966. In *Limesforschungen*, Band 13.
- Schönberger, H., 1978. Kastell Oberstimm, die Grabungen von 1968 bis 1971. Romisch-Germanisch Kommission. In *Limesforschungen* Band 18.
- Sehrawat, J. S. and Kaur, J., 2017. Role of Stable Isotope Analyses in Reconstructing Past Life-Histories and the Provenancing Human Skeletal Remains: A Review. In *Anthropological Review*, vol. 80, no. 3, pp. 243-258.
- Shanks, M. and Tilley, C., 1992. *Re-Constructing Archaeology: Theory and Practice* (second edition). London and New York: Routledge.
- Snape, M. E., 1994. An Excavation in the Roman Cemetery at South Shields. In *Archeologia Aeliana*, vol 22, series 5, pp. 43-66.
- Snape, M. and Bidwell, P. T., 2002. The Roman Fort at Newcastle Upon Tyne: The West Granary. In *Archeologia Aeliana*, vol. 31, series 5, pp. 57-66.
- Sommer, C. S., 1984. The Military Vici in Roman Britain: Aspects of Their Origins, Their Location and Layout, Administration, Function and End. BAR series 129. Oxford: Archaeopress, pp. 95-145.
- Sommer, C. S., 2006. Military Vici in Roman Britain Revisited. In R. J. A. Wilson (ed.), *Romanitas: Essays on Roman Archaeology in Honour of Sheppard Frere on the Occasion of his Ninetieth Birthday*. Oxford: Oxbow Books, pp. 95-146.
- Sørensen, S., 2000. *Gender Archaeology*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Sørensen, S., 2006. The Romanization of Gender Archaeology. In *Archaeological Dialogues*, vol. 13, issue 1, pp. 27-31.
- Southern, P., 2016. *Hadrian's Wall: Everyday Life on a Roman Frontier*. Stroud: Amberley Publishing Limited.
- Speidel, M. A., 1996. Die Römischen Schreibtafel von Vindonissa. In *Veröffentlichungen der Gesellschaft Pro Vindonissa*, Band XII. Baden-Dättwil.
- Speidel, M. P., 1985. A Marsacus as a Horseguard's Boy in Rome. In *Helinium*, vol. 25., pp. 254-7.
- Speidel, M. P., 1989. The Soldiers' Servants. In *Ancient Society*, vol. 20, pp. 239-248.
- Stewart, S., 2007. *Cosmetics and Perfumes in the Roman World*. Stroud: Tempus.

- Stokes, P. R. G., 1996. The Roman Fort at South Shields (Arbeia): a Study in the Spatial Patterning of the Faunal Remains. Unpublished PhD thesis, Durham University. URL: <http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/5330/>.
- Syme, R., 1964. Pliny and the Dacian Wars. In *Latomus*, vol. 23, fasc. 4. Société d'Études Latines de Bruxelles, pp. 750-759.
- Symonds, M., 2017. *Protecting the Roman Empire: Fortlets, Frontiers, and the Quest for Post-Conquest Security*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Syvanne, I., *Military History of Late Rome 284-361*. Barnsley: Pen and Sword.
- Tempelmann-Maczyńska, V. M., 1985, *Die Perlen der Römischen Kaiserzeit under der frühen Phase der Völkerwanderungszeit im mitteleuropäischen Barbaricum*. Band 43. Verlag Philipp Von Zabern: Römisch-Germanische Kommission.
- Tilley, C., 2011. Materializing Identities: An Introduction. In *Journal of Material Culture* vol. 16, no. 4, pp. 347-357. DOI: 10.1177/1359183511424835.
- Thomas, D. J., 2000. Review: Die römischen Schreibtafeln von Vindonissa. (Veröffentlichungen der Gesellschaft Pro Vindonissa, 12) by M. A. Speidel. In *Latomus*, T. 59. Fasc. 4. Bruxelles: Société d'Études Latines de Bruxelles, pp. 922-24.
- Todd, M., 2008. *A Companion to Roman Britain*. London: John Wiley and Sons.
- Toynbee, J. M. C., 1960. Review: The Impact of Roman on Native in North Britain. In *The Classical Review, New Series*, vol. 10, no. 2, pp. 164-66.
- Toynbee, J. M. C., 1978. *Roman Historical Portraits*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Toynbee, J. M. C., 1996. *Death and Burial in the Roman World*. Baltimore: JHU Press.
- Treggiari, S., 1976. Jobs for Women. In *American Journal of Ancient History*, vol. 1, pp. 76-104.
- Unknown, 2004. Herodian. Articles on Ancient History. URL: <http://www.livius.org/articles/person/herodian/>. Last Accessed 2nd July 2018.
- Vindolanda Trust (n.d.). Vindolanda Writing Tablets. URL: <http://www.vindolanda.com/roman-vindolanda/writing-tablets>. Last accessed 14th January 2019.

- Wallace-Hadrill, A., 1996. Engendering the Roman House. In D. E. E. Kleiner & S. B. Matheson (eds.), *I Claudia: Women in Ancient Rome*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, pp. 104-115.
- Ward, R. B., 1992. Women in Roman Baths. In *Harvard Theological Review*, vol. 85, issue 2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 125-147.
- Waterman, R., 1970. *Ärztliche Instrumente aus Novaesium*. Keulen.
- Webster, G., 1998. *The Roman Imperial Army of the First and Second Centuries A.D.* Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Weiner, A. and Schneider, J. (eds.), 1989. *Cloth and Human Experience*. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Wells, C. M., 1977. Where did they put the Horses? Cavalry Stables in the Early Empire. In J. Fitz (ed.), *Limes Akten Des XI. Budapest: Internationalen Limeskongresses*, pp. 659-65.
- Welsby, D. A., 1982. The Roman Military Defence of the British Provinces in its Later Phases. *Oxford: British Archaeological Reports* 101.
- Wheeler, E. L., 2010. Rome's Dacian Wars: Domitian, Trajan, and Strategy on the Danube, Part I*. In *The Journal of Military History*, Lexington, vol. 74, issue 4, 1185-1227.
- White, J. F., 2015. *The Roman Emperor Aurelian: Restorer of the World*. Barnsley: Pen and Sword.
- Whittaker, C. R., 2004. *Rome and its Frontiers: The Dynamics of Empire*. London: Routledge.
- Wild, J. P., 1970. *Textile Manufacture in the Northern Roman Provinces*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wilkes, J., 1960. Excavations at Housesteads in 1959. In *Archaeologia Aeliana*, vol. 38, series 4, pp. 61-71.
- Wilkes, J., 1961. Excavations in Housesteads Fort, 1960. In *Archaeologia Aeliana*, vol. 39, series 4, pp. 279-300.
- Williams, G., 1958. Some Aspects of Roman Marriage Ceremonies and Ideals. In *The Journal of Roman Studies*, vol. 48, issue 1-2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 16-29.

- Williams, S., 1996. *Diocletian and the Roman Recovery*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Wilmott, T., 1997. Birdoswald: Excavations of a Roman Fort on Hadrian's Wall and its Successor Settlements: 1987-92. In *Archaeological Report 14*. Swindon: English Heritage.
- Wilmott, T., 2010. The Late Roman Frontier: A Structural Background. In R. Collins and L. Allason-Jones (eds.), *Finds from the Frontier: Material Culture in the 4th-5th Centuries*. London: Council for British Archaeology, pp. 10-16.
- Wilson, D. R., 1984. Defensive Outworks of Roman Forts in Britain. In *Britannia*, vol. 15, pp. 51-61.
- Wilson, P., 2015. England 3. Hadrian's Wall. In *Britannia*, vol. 46, pp. 291-295.
- Wilson, P., 2016. England 3. Hadrian's Wall. In *Britannia*, vol. 47, pp. 298-302.
- Wilson, P., 2017. England 3. Hadrian's Wall. In *Britannia*, vol. 48, pp. 327-331.
- Wood, G. A., 2004. The Roman Fort at Qubur al Bid, Mesopotamia. In *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, vol. 17, pp. 397-404.
- Wood, S. E., 1999. *Imperial Women: A study in Public Images, 40 B.C. – A.D. 68*. Leiden: BRILL.
- Woodcock, R. J., 2016. *Language Contact and Identity in Roman Britain*. Electronic Thesis and Dissertation Repository. URL: <https://ir.lib.uwo.ca/etd>. Last Accessed 23rd March 2018.
- Wyke, M., 1994. Women in the Mirror: The Rhetoric of Adornment in the Roman world. In L. J. Archer, S. Fischler and M. Wyke (eds.), *Women in Ancient Societies: An Illusion of the Night*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 134-151.
- Zanier, W., 1992. *Das Römische Kastell Ellingen. Römisch-Germanisch Commission, Limesforschungen Band 23*. Mainz am Rhein: Philip von Zabern.
- Zant, J., 2009. *The Carlisle Millennium Project, Excavations in Carlisle 1998-2001, I: Stratigraphy*. Lancaster: Oxford Archaeology North.
- Zienkiewicz, J. D., 1986. *The Legionary Fortress Baths at Caerleon*. Cardiff: National Museum of Wales.